

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ENGLISH AS A MEDIUM OF
INSTRUCTION IN NAMIBIA
(A TEACHER-BASED STUDY IN THE CENTRAL AREA OF NAMIBIA)

BRIAN A. HARLECH-JONES

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D e c l a r a t i o n

I declare that this thesis has been composed by me, and that it is in every respect my own work.

B. Harlech-Jones

Abstract

This work studies, and makes recommendations in respect of, ways in which English as a medium of instruction may best be implemented in the school system of Namibia. The survey research is limited to the central area of Namibia. However, many of the conclusions may also be relevant to other regions of the country.

Language in education is seen as both a causal and intervening factor in educational policy-making; education is shown to be set within wider parameters of socially regulatory policies. The work reviews policy-implementation theory, both to establish a framework, and to assist in determining which factors, central to the implementation process, may be selected for study under current conditions in Namibia. Teachers are identified as prime subjects of research, within the general hypothesis that a study of the characteristics, beliefs, attitudes and experiences of teachers will yield valuable data in the light of which current and proposed policies can be evaluated and/or refined.

The tractability of a policy, and attendant implementation, are largely influenced by historical, ideological and experiential factors, and by the manner in which these are interpreted by those affected by the policy. For this reason, amongst others, a portion of the work is devoted to a study of the educational systems of Namibia, and to an analysis of language policy in education. Proposals for educational reform are reviewed within the framework of the dominant social and ideological perspectives which apply to Namibia. A portion of the work is devoted to a review of relevant research and theory in bilingual education, the concern being to critically apply these to the subject and area of research.

"An Ideal Model of Bilingual Education for Namibia" is developed. The model attempts to be **realistic**, in that it arises from an analysis of the local situation, read together with a critical review of bilingual education research and theory, and **idealistic**, in that it proposes what can, and may, be done to **best** implement

English as a medium of instruction, within the necessary context of a bilingual educational system.

The final portion of the work reviews the design, conduct, and results of a survey of primary school teachers which was undertaken in the central area of Namibia during 1986. The underlying hypotheses, which formed the theoretical basis of the survey, were formulated from a study of proposals for educational reform in Namibia - with particular reference to language - which emanated during the 1980's from parties which are contending for political power in Namibia. The work closes with a series of conclusions and recommendations, which, amongst others, review the implementability of the "Ideal Model," as well as proposing the viability of a modified model which is more closely based on the hypotheses underlying the survey research. A major, and substantial, conclusion is that the continued implementation of English as a medium of instruction in Namibia, being divorced from the policy aims for which it is popularly advocated, will invariably lead to further conflict, frustration, and disillusionment under present conditions. It is further concluded that this situation may be alleviated to an extent by the implementation of certain of the recommendations of this research.

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assisted at various times, such as in processing the data and in proof-reading. I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude to my family.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to Marie, who
has contributed immeasurably towards
its completion.

LIST OF CONTENTS

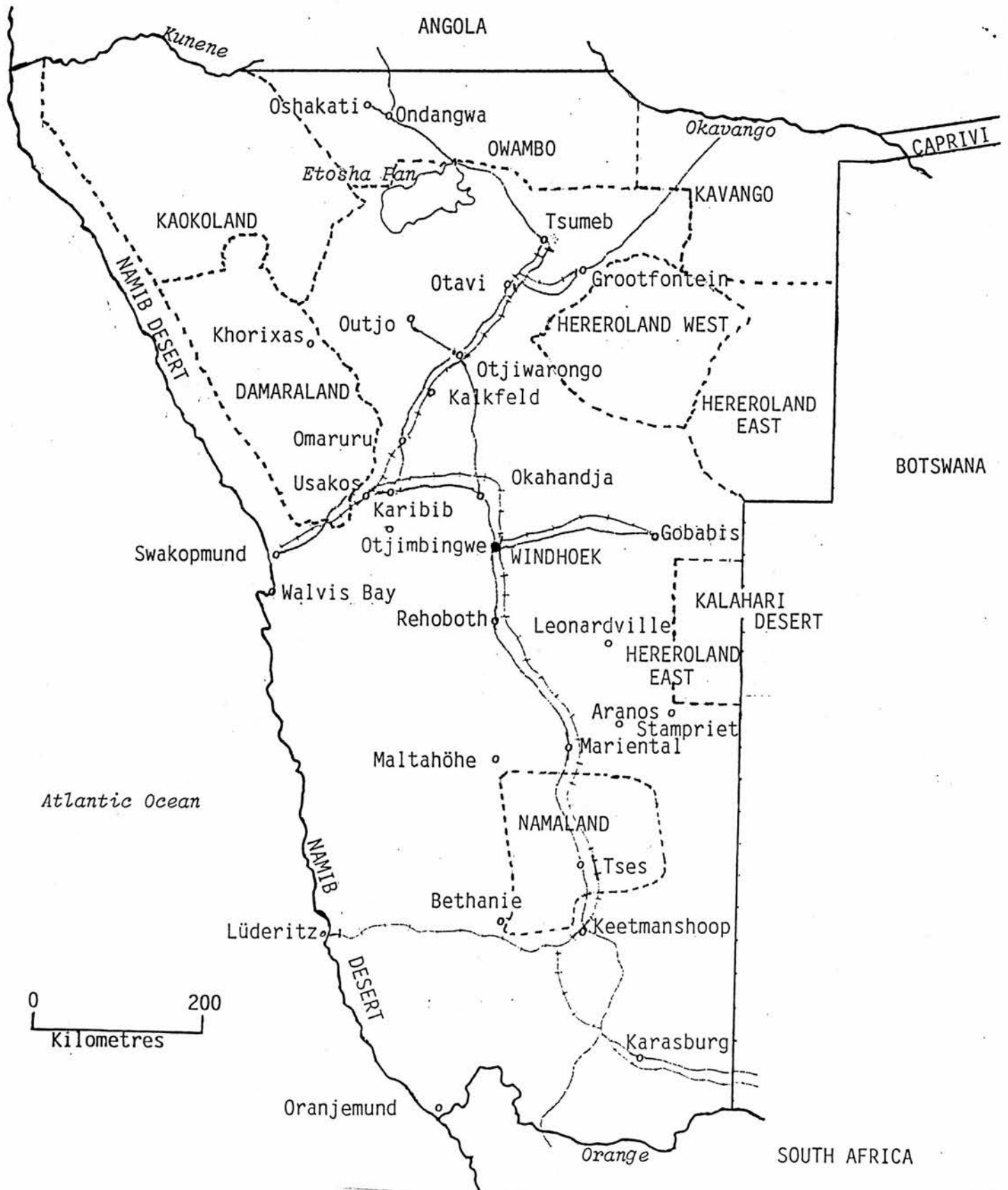
Chapters	Page
ONE : The concerns of this research	1
TWO : Background: a descriptive account of salient geographic, political, economic, demographic and linguistic features of Namibia	44
THREE : Education in Namibia	63
FOUR : Language policies and language in education Namibia	115
FIVE : Theoretical perspectives on language in education, with particular reference to Namibia	178
SIX : Language in education: psychoeducational and experimental approaches, and a Model of Bilingual Education for Namibia	216
SEVEN : Designing the survey	256
EIGHT : Analysing the results	304
NINE : Conclusions and recommendations	355
APPENDICES	following 377
BIBLIOGRAPHY	following xxxix

MAPS, DIAGRAMS, TABLES AND APPENDICES

	Page
Map of Namibia	front
An implementation model (Sabatier and Mazmanian)	26
1981 Census data	47
Table 1: Pupil enrolments (1949)	114
Table 2: Expenditure on "European" and "Non-European" education (1947-48)	114
Table 3: Numbers of pupils in selected school years (1981)	114
Chronological guide to reports on education and language which are referred to in Chapters Three and Four	Between 114-115
Table 4: Medium of instruction preferences country-wide	158
Table 5: Medium of instruction preferences inside Owambo	160
Table 6: Medium of instruction preferences inside Damaraland	162
Table 7: Medium of instruction preferences outside Damaraland	162
Table 8: Medium of instruction preferences in Herero areas	164
Table 9: Medium of instruction preferences outside Herero areas	164
Survey:	
Table A: Age by sex	286
Table B: Qualification by sex	287
Table C: Home languages of respondents	287
Table D: Educational qualifications of teachers by classes taught	288
Table E: Medium of instruction in Sub-standard A	288
Table F: Years of teaching experience by sex	288
Table G: Years of teaching experience by educational qualification	289
Table H: Interview schedule	302
Table I: Statistical significances attaching to questionnaire items, by lower- and higher-qualified respondents	315

	Page
Appendices:	
Appendix A: Responses to Item 32 of the questionnaire	ii
Appendix B: Responses to Item 33 of the questionnaire	vi
Appendix C: Responses to Item 34 of the questionnaire	vii
Appendix D: Results of interviews with school principals	ix
Appendix E: Results of English Proficiency Test	xix
Appendix F: English Proficiency Test: discussion of results	xx
Appendix G: Classroom observations	xxv
Appendix H: Questionnaire used in the final survey	xxxi

MAP OF NAMIBIA
(Showing places mentioned in this work)



CHAPTER ONE : THE CONCERNS OF THIS RESEARCH

1.1 General

The major concern of this work is to investigate the conditions necessary for the effective implementation of English as a medium of instruction in the schools of Namibia - wherever this policy is applied - and to propose measures which can be instituted to allow the greatest possible degree of academic achievement by the pupils, while at the same time realising policy goals, and retaining the assent and co-operation of those who are most affected by the policy. The latter factors, as shown later in this chapter in a review of policy-implementation theory, are amongst the chief conditions which must be observed for implementation to take place successfully. Within a model of policy and implementation, the place of language decisions within general educational policy will be discussed. It will be shown that the issue is a complex one, allowing various loci to be identified, depending on the particular facet of the question which is being examined. As will be seen, the complexity arises, in part, from the intrinsic place which language in education has, together with education in general, within the wider ambit of national social policies.

Evidence will be adduced that these policies, and their specific operational realizations, such as language, are not set according to mechanistic measures or objective criteria. They are value-based decisions which are made by those who have power, and access to decision-making, and which are formulated according to perceptions of how advantages and benefits may be obtained. It will be

shown that the growing advocacy of English in Namibia, in education and for wider social purposes, is both symbol and result of strongly conflicting contentions for power, which have their roots in historical events stretching back over many decades. For this reason the work will focus in part on an historical analysis of both the educational system, within the context of general national policies, and more specifically on language in education as facilitator and reflector of these broader policies. The hazards and difficulties of policy-making at all levels, where unequal relations of power have persisted for many years, and under conditions of long-standing dissonance and stress, will be examined in detail, and the effects on the implementation of language policy in education will be discussed.

Finally, before the survey research which is central to this work is described and analysed, an "ideal" model of bilingual education for Namibia will be presented. It will be shown that this derives from a reading of policy-implementation theory applied to the specific conditions in Namibia, as well as from a study of much of the best that has been written about bilingual education research and theory. It is through this "ideal" model of bilingual education for Namibia, which forms a logical conclusion to one phase of this work, that the results of the research will be informed and mediated in the presentation of conclusions and recommendations.

1.2 Policy and implementation

In that this study is concerned with implementation, it will necessarily be concerned with the characteristics of good policy-making. It will, therefore, consider models

of policy, and will attempt to apply these to the Namibian situation, as it can be defined within the parameters provided by those models. Policy-making contains within it the tension between theory and implementation, a tension which is exacerbated by the particular nature of educational systems, in which the operationalising of decisions cannot easily be controlled by the initiators of the policy. The nature of educational systems makes them peculiarly resistant to attempts to involve decision-makers and implementers (operationalisers) in mutual planning and discussion. Amongst the key factors which give rise to this difficulty are these: the inherent conservatism of the system (the implementers are also products and beneficiaries of the system), the managerial structure of the system (the conventional pyramidal order of control hardly applies), and the large scale of the endeavour. These problems are exacerbated where deeply-felt political and social differences separate the decision-makers and the implementers, as in Namibia, and in particular where perceptions of language are both symbols and products of these differences. Thus an early concern of this study will be to discover a model of policy and implementation which can usefully be applied to illuminate the situation of bilingual education in Namibia. This will be undertaken later in this first chapter.

1.3 Defects in database and in relevant research: towards a model

Namibia, frequently termed "Africa's last colony", has suffered from the defects and problems caused by colonialism, as will be shown in Chapter Two and

elsewhere. For the researcher, one of the chief shortcomings of the situation is the dearth of reputable research in both the social and physical sciences. There are, for instance, no meaningful sociolinguistic surveys which can be relied upon to discover which languages are spoken in which areas and/or social strata and with what degree of intensity or proficiency. From West Africa, Yai gives the opinion that effective research into language in education requires a database of, minimally:

- (i) A complete list of all the languages spoken in the country, including dialect variations;
- (ii) An assessment of the number of native speakers of each language;
- (iii) An assessment of the degree of bilingualism, at least, and if possible the degree of multilingualism;
- (iv) A linguistic atlas. (Yai, 1976:63)

While the first two conditions have been fulfilled to an extent in Namibia, the last two have not. The creation of a linguistic atlas is particularly important for research of the type being undertaken in this study because, as will be seen, language relations vary widely from context to context in Namibia, in spite of the relatively small size of the population. Classifications of these variations can make a substantial contribution towards the drafting and propagation of local options for bilingual education, which are vital steps to be undertaken to secure the policy-implementation imperatives of consultation, involvement and flexibility in respect of those who are most affected by social policies. As Charles Ferguson states, another important component of sociolinguistic surveys is an investigation of attitudes towards languages:

In many ways the effectiveness of language policies in education is determined more by the attitudes of the people on language use than it is by the simple demographic facts of language distribution and use (Ferguson, 1966:2).

This factor is explicitly recognized in the research which is reported here, which is primarily concerned with attesting the attitudes of teachers towards possible policy options. The study is necessarily limited in scope, being an isolated endeavour of its kind. Also, it can unfortunately not be placed within a scientifically-attested perspective on the wider society in which the educational system is based, because of the lack of the aforesaid database.

The Namibian situation is not only defective in respect of a sociolinguistic database, but also in respect of the complete lack of any meaningful research into bilingual education. As will be shown, there are three types of research which can be done in such situations. The first is experimental, in which factors are controlled and varied according to the classical scientific model. The second is the use of empirical studies, in which the effect of salient factors which have been identified in the history of the subjects are assessed in terms of effect upon present performance. Finally, comparative studies may be employed. These are perhaps least reliable of all, because situations vary enormously in respect of even basic factors, making it difficult to extract key factors from other research (experimental or empirical) which may fruitfully be applied to one's own situation. It is not only Namibia which is defective in respect of these types of research into bilingual education, but also the African continent

as a whole. It may, indeed, be claimed that sustained research into bilingual education is such a recent phenomenon world-wide that even the best-conducted experiments and investigations are not necessarily asking the right questions. Nor, as will be seen, has knowledge of bilingual education reached the stage where all of the most useful lessons can be extracted from research results.

Nevertheless, this study will attempt to bring together the best and most relevant writings and researches in bilingual education, while at the same time remaining aware of both the inherent defects and dangers of importing models or findings into dissimilar contexts. A model of bilingual education for Namibia will be developed, in the light of which the present situation can be illuminated, and against which the findings of the survey (which forms part of this study) can be tested. This model is explicitly intended to provide a set of guidelines for the effective conduct of bilingual education in Namibia; it is derived not only from research and theory, but also from close consideration of the historical and philosophical contexts in which education in Namibia has been set.

No research can be conducted in a vacuum. Hypotheses must be formulated and models must be derived, if the research is not to fall into the trap of being, finally, no more than a meandering excursion over promising territory. This present research is concerned with the attitudes of teachers towards language policy options in schools - concerns which derive from consideration of policy-implementation models, and from assessments of historical and political realities in Namibia - but

ultimately these attitudes must be interpreted meaningfully. This will be one of the functions of the ideal model of bilingual education in Namibia, which will provide a scheme against which attitudes can be tested and through which they can profitably be interpreted. (At the same time, it must be remembered that attitudes can change when viable and reputable policy options are presented with care and with sympathy.) This model is presented at the conclusion of Chapter Six.

1.4 Politics, uncertainties, criteria and hypotheses

As succeeding chapters will show, the colonial condition of Namibia has given rise to a state of conflict and mistrust which has been exacerbated since the 1950's. The conflict is ideological, in that a power-exercising minority seeks to continue the colonial situation, advantageous to itself, justifying its hold on power in terms of the ethnically-particular, authoritarian, Christian National philosophy, which will be examined in detail in Chapters Three and Four. On the other hand, the majority of the population seek independence in order to bring about national integration and an egalitarian dispensation. This ideological dichotomy can usefully be examined from the points of view of the paradigms of imperialism and modernisation, as will be done in Chapter Four.

The conflict is also a military one, with the South African colonial authorities having militarised Namibia to the extent that, at the time of writing, it is claimed that there are one hundred thousand uniformed personnel serving in the territory, which has a civilian

population of just over one million. The war is being fought against the guerrilla forces of SWAPO of Namibia (the South West African People's Organisation) which conducts regular incursions from Angola, and attempts to gain the support of indigenous people. SWAPO, which is staffed entirely by Namibian expatriates, is recognized by the General Assembly of the United Nations as the only authentic representative of the Namibian people, and has considerable logistical resources at its command, including military and educational training institutions. This military conflict has continued for over twenty years, and has disrupted life to a very significant degree for well over half of the population of the country. In brief, the South Africans aim to maintain all forms of control over Namibia, as they have since their conquest in 1915; the liberation movement intends to bring about internationally-recognized independence and sovereignty, and national integration. Between these contending parties, with their substantial military underpinnings, the inhabitants of Namibia must unavoidably make their choices. Some, with considerable South African backing, attempt a third option, that of bringing about a degree of independence and unity while accepting South African control in many areas of national life. These contending ideologies, the military conflict of almost a quarter of a century, and the choice of options, have considerable bearing upon the shape and content of the educational system, as well as on language policy, as will be seen.

It is obvious that the political situation places great constraints upon research which is future-directed, as this study is. It is difficult to attest the significance of factors, or estimate their durability,

with the desirable degree of certainty; equally, it is difficult to make recommendations with confidence that they will be valid in even the medium-term. This is particularly true of the conditions which apply to this study, where the demand for English-medium instruction, and attitudes towards the use of all languages which are currently employed in education, are conditioned not only by past experience, but also by expectations of a different future which is conditional upon political changes which have not yet taken place. In order to discipline this study by keeping it as far as is practicable within the bounds of what is known and what is probable, and in order that it should not be written only with a short-term and transitory phase of national development in mind, the following have been formulated as the basic criteria of this research:

1. The conditions studied should exist now and should, reasonably, be expected to exist in the future.
2. The findings should be useful now and in the future.
3. The conditions which are investigated should form an integral part of the implementation process, i.e. they should not be peripheral to social policy-making.
4. The study should conform with academic requirements such as scope, quality and originality.

These basic criteria will inform the work throughout its various phases, and will be applied directly at specific points.

Although much is uncertain and under-researched, during the 1980's there have been a number of policy documents on Namibia which can be studied in order to more clearly define likely developments in future. These documents

originate from the United Nations Institute for Namibia, in Lusaka, on the one hand, and from the government departments in Windhoek, on the other hand. Because they are issued under the authority of the two parties which are contending for power in Namibia, viz. the South African-installed "internal parties" and the two transitional governments which they have formed, and SWAPO of Namibia (aligned with similarly-inclined political groups), it can reasonably be stated that major blueprints for future social, economic, political and educational dispensations are already known and available, to a significant extent. In other words, because these two groupings represent the only meaningful contenders for power in Namibia, and because they have issued a number of comprehensive policy documents, the future may be anticipated with much greater certainty than if a policy-proposal vacuum had existed. This state of affairs is, of course, one which can and must be exploited by a study of the kind being undertaken here, which is essentially future-directed.

Comparisons of the aforesaid policy documents reveal a relatively substantial measure of agreement - larger than might be expected, given the apparent divide of ideological differences - as well as significant points of disagreement. The documents which are most useful for this present study are:

- 1) The Advieskomitee vir Geestewetenskaplike Navorsing (A.G.N.) (1982-83) and Education Committee (1985) proposals on education, issued in Windhoek, and the comparable United Nations Institute for Namibia (UNIN) (1984) report published in Lusaka. These reports are discussed in some detail in Chapters Three and Four.

2) Specific proposals on language policy in education, as found in a separate volume of the Advieskomitee vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing (AGN) (1982) report, at various places in the Education Committee (1985) document, and in a publication of the United Nations Institute for Namibia (UNIN) (1981). These are discussed in Chapter Four.

These documents will be examined and discussed in Chapters Three and Four of this study, and, as will be seen, the hypotheses of this research derive from comparative studies of the various proposals for language in education. These are the **basic research hypotheses**:

1. English is favoured as the major medium of instruction.
2. Teachers consider themselves insufficiently trained, and insufficiently proficient in the second language(s), for the effective implementation of present and future language medium policies in education.
3. There is agreement that the vernaculars should not be used as major mediums of instruction.
4. There is evidence that conditions favour the application of a "mixed medium" approach to the introduction and distribution of languages of instruction.
5. There is uncertainty over whether or not children benefit scholastically from a policy which requires that the mother-tongue should be used as the initial medium of instruction.
6. There is disagreement over whether or not the language component of the curriculum should be employed to promote recognition of, and respect for, cultural

diversity and authentic traditions and customs.

The manner in which these hypotheses are derived, and their significances, will be explained in later sections of this work.

As will be seen in the concluding sections of this chapter, the research focus is on teachers, and on their attitudes towards proposed language education policy options for Namibia. These findings will then be mediated through a model for bilingual education in Namibia, to assess the implementability of the various options, and thus to arrive at conclusions and recommendations. Teachers have been chosen as the focus of research for various reasons: they are identified as significant factors in the implementation process (criterion 3, above); they are a constant factor in the system (criterion 1, above); their present experiences, training and knowledge are largely predictive of their future behaviour (criterion 2, above); and they are leaders and opinion-makers in their communities, to a much larger extent than in societies which are more diversified, and in which higher general levels of education pertain.

From what has been said above, the basic research plan of this work may already be deduced:

1. Examine policy-implementation theory, indentifying key factors in the educational situation in Namibia which conform with
2. The criteria for the study;
3. Derive hypotheses from consideration of proposals for education, and for future language policy, by those

parties which are contending for political power in Namibia;

4. Examine the attitudes of teachers (cf. (1) above) towards policy options as contained in the hypotheses;
5. Mediate these findings through a proposed model of bilingual education for Namibia;
6. Conclusions and recommendations.

The research methodology which is employed is probably even more crucial to the viability of the findings, than are the hypotheses which are tested and the theories within which the work is founded. Although the survey method is at present in relative disfavour, along with "positivism" with which it is associated - these issues will be discussed in later chapters - it is the primary method which will be employed in this study. The choice of this method will be justified on the grounds that the absence of a relevant database necessitates it, and that this condition further requires a relatively extensive, quantitatively large investigation which can only be accomplished by conventional survey methodology. These findings will be mediated through a smaller, interpretive-type investigation, in an attempt to elucidate underlying significances.

Finally, it is acknowledged that no researcher can be neutral or thoroughly "objective" in his or her relationship towards the subject of study:

All social research is founded on the human capacity for participant observation. We act in the social world and yet are able to reflect upon ourselves and our actions as objects in that world (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983:25)

These conditions place an obligation upon the researcher to define his or her own position vis-a-vis the subject as clearly as is possible. This obligation is even more salient when it is recognized that social research is not, and cannot be, an end in itself, but that it is always a means towards the better accomplishment of social goals. As will be clearly discernible from the tone and presentation of succeeding chapters, this research is predicated on the assumption that Namibians should not exist in a situation of legalised inequality, nor in a constitutional dispensation which maintains itself by perpetuating ethnic and class divisions. It will be seen from later expositions that this research accepts the desires of the majority of Namibians for personal and national development - within the paradigm of progressive modernisation - as being both legitimate and necessary. It accepts, too, that these goals can only be attained in conditions of internationally-recognized independence, national unity, and of the maximum possible national sovereignty. Furthermore, it accepts as a primary necessity that social policies, of which education is a vital instrument in the modernising process, will only be successfully implemented when they accord with the basic desires and motivations of the majority of the population. Finally, the study is predicated on the belief that decision-makers have both the pragmatic and moral duties to ensure that their policies are implementable, not by means of coercion, but primarily because they are in agreement with the conditions which are outlined above. It holds that this can best be done where democracy prevails, i.e. decision-makers are obliged to engage in intensive and regular consultation, and to submit their policies to the test of popular opinion.

1.5 Policy and implementation: discussion in detail

As already indicated, this study is concerned with the effective implementation of English as a medium of instruction in Namibia (although, as will be seen, for practical reasons only a limited population within a defined part of the country could be covered). Thus, as can be deduced, the theoretical and scientific bases of the enquiry are directed towards eventuating in proposals for the better employment of English as a medium of instruction within actual or probable contexts.

Although the formal study of implementation as a discrete area of enquiry is quite recent in origin (cf. Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973: iii), the process has of course always been integral to the successful execution of policies and decisions. The last two decades have witnessed a growing literature on the subject, which has become an accepted area of academic enquiry. Most writers begin by making an analogy between policies and theories. For instance, Bardach states that "Any policy or program implies an economic, and probably also a sociological, theory about the way the world works. If this theory is fundamentally incorrect, the policy will probably fail..." (Bardach, 1977:251). Pressman and Wildavsky propose that policy is a hypothesis containing both the initial conditions and the predicted consequences: "If X is done at time t1, then Y will result at time t2" (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973:iii) (cf also Van Horn, 1979:8-9; Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979a: 485). A policy is, in its ideal conception, fully analogous to the causal laws which the natural and social sciences seek to generate; its form is, in Fay's words, that of "the hypethetico-deductive model" (1975:13).

The "strength" of a policy (Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979b) is precisely that of the "power" of the causal laws proposed by science, in that both contain within them predictions which embody the potential to control. Successful policy-making is necessarily intimately concerned as much with "means" as with "ends", because the one is impossible without the other. Implementation is the means by which the goal is achieved: thus it is viewed as far more than merely a managerial or administrative activity. It is a process which embraces these functions in addition to adjusting to and ordering the potentials and limitations of human and material factors which are involved, through a continuing effort of negotiation, direction and evaluation. It must, of course, be seen in perspective in relation to overall parameters; as Bardach says, "The most important problems that affect public policy are almost surely not those of implementation but those of basic political, economic and social theory" (Bardach, 1977:283).

Although implementation is viewed discretely for purposes of analysis, it is generally considered that it has a vital interactive relationship with policy. As Larson remarks, it is thoroughly unrealistic to set goals without considering one's resources (1980:3). This is echoed by Pressman and Wildavsky, who state that "The separation of policy design from implementation is fatal" (1973:xviii). Most writers see two phases of policy/implementation interaction: the first takes place at the time of the initial design of the policy, and the second occurs as a result of evaluation, which some observers build into the implementation process (cf. Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979b). Williams says that "if implementation analysis is to have any value it must

be performed **before** a decision is made, and its results must be available at the same time that the policy or experimental recommendations are" (Williams, 1975:534). A more recent opinion, that of Hyder, is that as a result of experience, "a much more modest view is taken of our ability to predict and control the world", which dictates less reliance on foresight and less confidence in ability to eliminate difficulties beforehand, and greater dependence on "constant monitoring of the implementation process" (Hyder, 1984:14). Hyder views policy-making as a strong interactive and evolutionary process: "The process of implementation is capable of affecting policy or altering the policy process itself" (ibid.:15).

There is considerable difference of opinion concerning the extent to which the policy-makers are able to structure or dictate the course of implementation. The "strong" view is that the statute or policy can and should structure all aspects of the process; Pressman and Wildavsky give the opinion that "The more directly the policy aims at its target, the fewer the decisions involved in its ultimate realization and the greater the likelihood it will be implemented" (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973:147). Sabatier and Mazmanian make this "structuring" of the process a central concern, and state that their work is, in part, directed at understanding the manner in which policy formulators "can structure the implementation process so as to maximize the probability that statutory objectives will be attained" (Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979a:483). However, other analysts point out that although clear structuring might have the beneficial result of providing its own definition of success, it can also "reduce evolution and development, may deter radical

changes, may in fact conceal uncertainty or lack of agreement" (Lewis, 1984:217). A number of writers provide reasons why implementation should **not** be too rigidly structured at the policy-making stage: lack of clarity may leave more room for discretion (Hill, 1980); it might be necessary because the performance objectives cannot always be clearly specified and because the policy-makers might actually want "to leave room for manoeuvre, negotiation and re-negotiation" (Hambleton, 1983:407); it is necessary for politicians to employ ambiguity and symbolism, and their mobilising and motivating intentions should not be confused with the very different work of the implementers (Lewis, 1984). The issue is probably best resolved by Lewis, who states that precise statements are most necessary in contexts of traditional bureaucracies and where political and legal infrastructure is weak (*ibid.*: 219), a situation which applies in Namibia now, and which will probably apply in the first phase of a new dispensation.

1.6 What is implementation?

Definitions of implementation are conditioned by the view taken of the relationship between it and policy-making; as suggested above, the "programmed" or "top-down" approach (the "strong" view) is contrasted with the "adaptive" or "bottom-up" view of the process. Hill characterises the distinction as follows: "often it is more realistic to see policies as **products** of implementation rather than 'top-down' inputs into the process" (Hill, 1980:90). Sabatier and Mazmanian, who exemplify the "top-down" view, say that "Implementation is the carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually made in a statute...Ideally, that decision identifies the

problem(s) to be addressed, stipulates the objective(s) to be pursued and, in a variety of ways, 'structures' the implementation process" (Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979b:6). However, they show that there are a number of "non-statutory variables" which can be anticipated but not structured in the process; in common with most analysts they are aware that the process is complex and context-dependent.

Bardach asserts that "the political and institutional relationships in an implementation relationship on any but the smallest scale are simply too numerous and diverse to admit of our asserting lawlike propositions about them" (Bardach, 1977:57), and thus agrees with Hyder's statement that it is necessary to take "a much more modest view...of our ability to predict and control the world" (Hyder, 1984:14). It is such perceptions that condition the "adaptive" or "bottom-up" view of implementation, which variously asserts that purpose will be adapted to structure and not vice versa (Dunsire, 1978:78), that the implementation process itself requires constant monitoring (Hyder, 1984:14) and that "implementers will inevitably reformulate as well as carry out policy" (Hambleton, 1983: 408). In accord with this approach, Lewis offers the following definition: "The successful implementation of a policy is the cost-effective use of appropriate mechanisms and procedures in such a way as to fulfil expectations aroused by the policy and retain public assent" (Lewis, 1984: 215). The "bottom-up" nature of this definition is embodied in the inclusion of factors such as "expectations" and "public assent", which are post hoc components of the policy decision.

The two approaches are not necessarily opposed to each other; nor are they presented as such by the writers who employ them. They reflect, rather, the particular view taken of the implementation process and the context in which it occurs. Dunsire explicitly attempts to reconcile the two views by referring to the self-explanatory "pyramid" model, which is employed when observers are more interested in designating stages in decision-making, and the "network" model, which focuses on the process as "a sequence in which each unit will be able to accept the output of the preceding unit...and transform it in ways that will **cumulate** to the overall transformations desired" (Dunsire, 1978:85). It is his opinion that an adequate description of implementation requires frequent switching from one metaphor to the other, as the focus alters (ibid.: 81).

In view of the complexity of the relations involved and the nature of the interactions, it may be queried whether there is actually an indentifiable process known as "implementation". This theme is a prominent one, and most analysts agree with Alterman that although "implementation and policy making are usually interlocked", the concept of implementation is a useful one, which is neither artificial nor misleading (Alterman, 1982:228). Alterman's definition of it is "the process by which decisions taken by various actors enhance or weaken the chances that intervention will be undertaken in accordance with the policy-of-reference" (ibid.: 230); it agrees substantially with that of Pressman and Wildavsky, seminal writers on the subject, who say, "The degree to which the predicted consequences take place will be called implementation" (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973:xv). Thus implementation is

consistently viewed not as a mechanistic or merely formal procedure, but as a mediating process between policy-decisions and goals; it is regarded as being complex and interactive, both formed and formative.

1.7 Why study implementation?

The preceding discussions have shown that while implementation may be studied discretely as a series of post-policy stages (Dunsire's "pyramid model" (1978:80), which describes "stages of the process by which ideas are turned into action") it must also be seen as being integrated into the process of policy formation. Simply put, questions of means and ends are so inextricably linked that, in Bardach's words, "It is not exactly clear what 'good' implementation of a basically misconceived policy would be" (1977: 252). Otherwise expressed, it may be said that it is not exactly clear how "policy" can be understood without understanding the related process of implementation.

A major reason for studying implementation is obviously that it enables policy makers

...to estimate the implementability of various policy alternatives and to understand the manner in which they can structure the implementation process so as to maximize the probability that statutory objects will be attained. (Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979a: 483).

In his account of planning in developing countries, Waterson notes that "only too frequently planners, finding the passage more difficult than they had expected, predictably give up before the journey's end"

(Waterson, 1969:11). The difficulties which they encounter are, of course, in large measure those of implementation.

As has been seen, not even the most optimistic writer is willing to assert that the policy "theory" is able to incorporate and structure all the relevant factors; nor is it able to fully dictate the implementation process. Bardach correctly says that we simply cannot assert "lawlike propositions" about the "political and institutional relationships in an implementation process" (Bardach, 1977:57); Hyder states that "we cannot foresee all the incidental difficulties in advance, and undesirable side effects cannot be eliminated" (Hyder, 1984:14). The result is that "it is a common experience that the output actually produced is not that which was envisaged" (Dunsire, 1978:118). This failure can result in "a critical social condition" (Larson, 1980:1); at the least, the unfulfilled promises will result in disillusionment and frustration (Pressman and Wildavsky 1973: 6). Not only are these conditions critical but, as Larson correctly points out, admission of failure results in a loss of investment, and leads to further political conflict. In addition, the strongly conservative instincts of bureaucracies leads them to adopt "tactics of survival" rather than to engage in restructuring or re-evaluating (Larson, 1980: 2-3). Governments and citizens are thus almost invariably encumbered with the flotsam of failed programmes; failures which are often due to faulty implementation or, perhaps more basically, facile assessment of a policy's implementability. Of course, implementation is not always the major factor in policy failure; however, all writers are agreed that good

implementation is one of the sine qua nons of success.

Havelock and Huberman, in their study of educational innovation in developing countries, note that programmes often founder because of the perceived urgency of the problem, and the large scale of what has to be achieved: "the more ambitious the change, the less likelihood there is of controlling all aspects of this situation" (Havelock and Huberman, 1977: 137). Urgency results in a rapid pace, through conception, planning and implementation, but this often increases the number and seriousness of the problems which are encountered during and after implementation (ibid.: 15). Their "problematic" pattern of educational change shows three types of aberrational effects, leading to outcomes which are very far from consonant with the original objectives: (1) Immediate outcomes: the infrastructure is overloaded and yet there is a demand for rapid behavioural change; (2) Short-term outcomes: delays, unexpected events, passive resistance, and/or exhaustion; (3) Longer-term outcomes: the project is reduced in scale, and/or traditional structures swallow up changes which were intended (ibid.: 76). These outcomes often result where there is pressure for massive change, leading to decisions to make rapid reforms quickly. It will be shown that this is the situation with regard to English as a medium of education in Namibia at present, and that the large scale and pace of change can result in the aberrant and unexpected outcomes which are often noted in the literature. The reasons for this, and likely effects through the implementation process, will be examined via the models proposed by Havelock and Huberman and, in particular, through the Sabatier and Mazmanian model

which will be adopted in this study (see later in this chapter).

The views of Hyder and Bardach (above) on the complexity and unpredictability of social policies, are echoed by many writers on education, and specifically on language policy. Rubin, for instance, sees language planning as a "wicked" problem (as opposed to a "simple" one) and hence very complex, hard to define and difficult to resolve (Rubin, 1983b:340). In such situations, implementation entails far more than merely straightforward actions undertaken to bring about results; implementation becomes, in part, a "learning process", involving ongoing experiment, research and development, and evaluation studies (Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979a:503). Under such circumstances, incidental difficulties are eliminated "by constant monitoring of the implementation process" (Hyder, 1984: 14). A highly salutary product of this focus on the "ongoing interactive" nature of implementation has been the highlighting of the role played by the characteristics, attitudes and motivations of the human "actors" (including the "beneficiaries" of the policy) and the attention given to the general social environment. These factors are only too easily lost sight of when the process is viewed in a conventional, mechanistic manner, as no more than a managerial or "chain of command" function.

Without negating the importance of anything that has been said above, and perhaps adding to its importance, we may consider the significance of Hill's statement regarding the important relation of implementation to policy: "the actual impact of any policy upon the

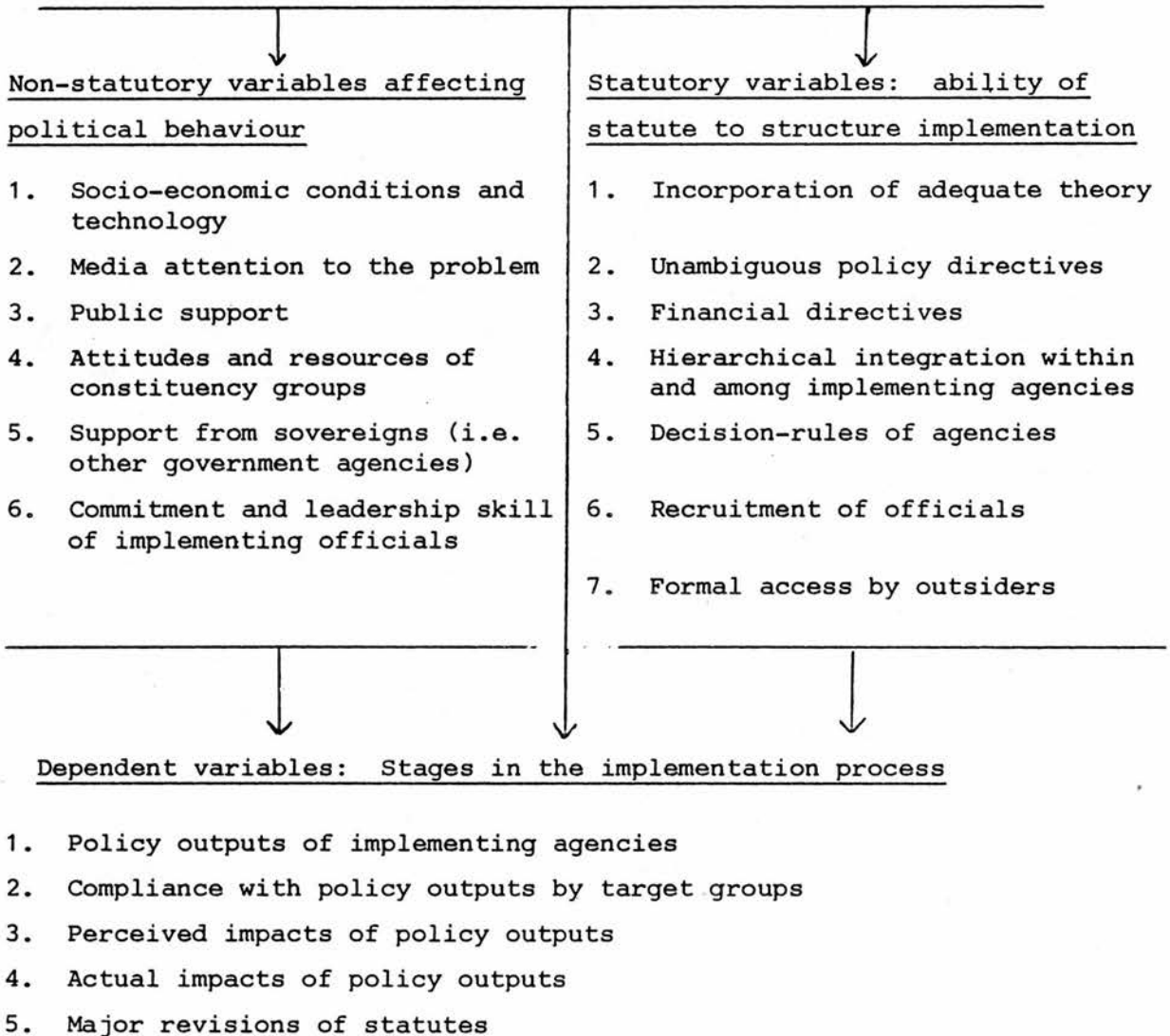
public will depend on how it is interpreted and put into practice by government officials" (Hill, 1980:111). It is important to understand the implementation process, because it is the front-line of policy, the visible effects of public intentions.

1.8 An implementation model

The model chosen for use in this study is that proposed by Sabatier and Mazmanian in **The implementation of regulatory policy: a framework of analysis** (1979), of which Alterman says, "This model is the most comprehensive we have and, if used with a checklist, provides a compact way of looking at implementability" (Alterman, 1982:233). The model, which is outlined below, is comprehensive in that it stresses the necessity of assessing the inherent "tractability" of the problem being addressed, in its inclusion of a range of variables which can be "structured" by the statute, and others which affect implementation but are strictly outside of the control of the statute. It also provides for what can be termed "dependent variables", these being the actual and perceived policy outputs, and for compliance by target groups. The model addresses itself to "the implementation of traditional regulatory policies which rely upon legal directives and sanctions to alter private behaviour" (Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979b: 7) and because of this it is particularly strong in its inclusion of "the human factor" (desires, motivations, dissonances, etc) in all of its phases. These aspects accord well with the context of this study, as will be seen, and in particular with the strong role which has been assigned to the implementers and beneficiaries, as against the more technical components of the implementation process.

THE MODELTractability of the problem

1. Availability of valid technical theory and technology
2. Diversity of target group behaviour
3. Target group as percentage of the population
4. Extent of behavioural change required



(The model is found in Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979b: 7)

Sabatier and Mazmanian are proponents of "strong" regulation via the statute, and in this sense might be regarded as favouring the "top-down" or "programmed" approach (which they do, to an extent). Nevertheless, they avoid a "pyramid" or "staged" process, and their model has the strength of being capable of application to both "pyramid" and "network" structures, while remaining relatively context-free. Their concern is specifically with "the macro-level legal and political variables which structure the entire process" (Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979b:1).

Before analysing the model in terms of the contribution it can make to this study, it is necessary to examine the definitions which attach to the various terms which are used.

"Tractability" of problems.

The authors state that "some social problems are much easier to deal with than others" (ibid.: 7), and consider that an assessment of the four factors in this section will provide an index of the "ease" or "difficulty" of the problem to be addressed. The "theory" refers to the assumption that "by modifying the behaviour of target groups, the problem will be ameliorated" (ibid.) and is integrally linked with the degree of compliance with policy outputs by the target groups (under "Dependent Variables"). The other three factors all contain the assumption that "smaller is better" i.e. implementation will be more effective if the target group is smaller rather than larger, if their characteristics display relatively small variation, and if the behavioural change required is not too great.

Non-statutory variables affecting political support.

The authors consider that implementation "has an inherent dynamism driven by at least two important processes": (i) it needs regular infusions of political support; (ii) it is affected by changes in socio-economic and technological conditions which influence the degree of political support (ibid.:16).

Most of these factors are self-evident. "Constituency groups" refers to what may be termed "pressure groups", who are able to exercise their democratic rights in making their opposition or support felt and known, and "sovereigns" refers to other, but autonomous, government agencies or departments which are in some way involved in the process. The "implementing officials" referred to under this section are those in other departments, agencies, etc, not directly affected by the policy or statute but impinging upon those who are. In the "IAC Model" proposed by Havelock and Huberman (1977), which refers to Infrastructure, Authority and Consensus, the authors similarly draw attention to the importance of factors such as media support, public awareness and consultation with those affected by the policy, in bringing about the necessary consensus without which implementation will founder.

Ability of statute to structure implementation.

This section comprises the factors which can be directly ordered and arranged by the policy-makers, and reflects the authors' belief that, "To the extent that the statute stipulates a set of clear and consistent

objectives, incorporates a sound theory relating behavioural change to those objectives, and then structures the implementation process in a fashion conducive to obtaining such behavioural change, the possibilities for attaining statutory objectives are enhanced" (Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979b:10).

The "theory" referred to is that contained in the policy or statute, implying "an underlying causal theory that given a stipulated objective and the assignment of certain rights and responsibilities to various implementing institutions, the target groups will behave in the prescribed fashion and the objectives will be attained" (ibid.:ii). It is postulated that the ease of formulating the theory, and its validity, will be greatly influenced by the extent of the "tractability" of the problem which is being addressed. The authors consider that there are two separate components in the theory: (i) "technical validity", which reflects the objectives, and (ii) "implementation effectiveness", which refers to the "ability of the implementing institutions to produce requisite behavioural changes in the target groups, preferably with a minimum of adverse side effects" (ibid.).

Under this section, factors 2 to 7 all relate to the latter. Regarding "hierarchical integration", the authors note that the effectiveness of implementation will probably be reduced in proportion to the number of agencies (departments, commissions, etc) that are involved: "the most direct route to a statutory objective...is normally preferable to complex programs administered by numerous semi-autonomous bureaucracies" (ibid.:12). In addition, the process can be expedited

by stipulating the "decision-rules" of the various agencies and actors involved, i.e. by describing and delimiting the extent of authority, the manner of co-operation, the domains of operation, etc. The authors specifically stress the necessity of officials being strongly committed to the achievement of the objectives of the policy; they comment that where this cannot be assured, it is likely that there will be "suboptimal correspondence of policy outputs with statutory objectives". Finally, "formal access by outsiders" refers to the authors' belief that the effectiveness of the policy will be improved if influence and participation are granted to two groups: the beneficiaries or target population, and the "legislative, executive and judicial sovereigns of the agencies" (i.e. heads of the other departments etc. whose participation is required in the implementation process). In their study, Havelock and Huberman note that very frequently policy-makers "may underestimate the institutional barriers in their initial eagerness to introduce changes which are long overdue" (1977:17). As an example, they cite failures in implementation in respect of vestigial colonial educational systems, a reference which is even more applicable to the present situation in Namibia, with its many ethnic authorities and conflicting interests of politicians and administrators.

Dependent variables

Sabatier and Maxmanian state that each of the five components of this section is in itself an end point or dependent variable, but also an input to the stages which follow (1979b:22).

(1) *Policy outputs:* These are directly related to the conditions discussed under "Ability of the statute to structure implementation". In other words, policy outputs (programmes of action) will most nearly approach the objectives if directives are unambiguous, if implementing officials are committed to the objectives, if financial resources are adequate, etc.

(2) *Target group's compliance with policy outputs:* The authors list four factors which are operative in securing compliance, of which these two are significant for this study : (i) target group attitudes concerning the fundamental legitimacy of the policy, and (ii) costs to the target groups of compliance.

(3) *Actual impacts of policy outputs:* The authors warn that a policy may have "substantial impacts not originally envisaged" (ibid.:24). They consider that a policy will have the desired impact if the following conditions are met: policy outputs are consistent with statutory objectives; target groups comply; policy outputs or impacts are not subverted by conflicting statutes; and the "statute incorporates a sound technical theory linking behavioural change in target groups to the achievement of mandated goals" (ibid.).

(4) *Perceived impacts:* It is recognized that actual impacts (which are in any case often difficult to measure) may, in fact, be "mediated by the values of the perceiver"; the authors state that "This conclusion is based on the cognitive theory of dissonance and, specifically, on the corollary that an actor will tend to reject a suggestion that the impacts of a legitimate statute might be undesirable" (ibid.:25). Actors who do

not approve of the "perceived" impact of a statute will either regard the impacts as being inconsistent with the objectives, and/or question the legitimacy of the policy, and/or question the validity of the data.

(5) Major revisions of statute: The authors emphasise the continuing interactive nature of implementation; as a result of feedback, there may be one or several revisions of the policy.

General remarks on the model

In respect of language policy in education, the concern of this study, it is doubtful that directives will be clearly embodied in any one particular statute. Firstly, language policy in education is regarded as a major instrument of overall national language policy, and not as an end per se. Secondly, national language policy is itself seldom expressed in terms of specific directives and objectives, because it too is an instrument of wider intentions, such as the promotion of national integration, de-emphasising regionalism and tribalism, and directing new orientations in various spheres. The Sabatier and Maxmanian model thus draws attention to the fact that, by implication, greater reliance is placed on the implementers and their interpretation of policy at the various levels at which they operate. The complexities of language policy and its expression in education make the realisation of a "valid technical theory" more difficult to achieve (see below).

Other advantages of the model as it applies to a study of language policy, are these : (i) It emphasises

"macro-level legal and political variables which structure the entire process". This is not only relevant to the actual case of language policy, which is an attempt to give expression to a multitude of diffuse and deep-seated motivations and expectations, but also to situations of change and development (as in Namibia) where a model which is based more narrowly on actual structures of management and administration would prove inappropriate. (ii) The model assumes that a substantial change in target group behaviour is sought, and that "the principal difficulty facing statutory framers is obtaining compliance from target groups" (ibid.:28). This accords well with major features of the situation in Namibia, as will be shown. (iii) The model also emphasises the desirability of "building in" evaluation and reformulation of policy as part of the implementation process. Experience in Africa, as elsewhere, has shown that this is, indeed, what happens in language policy, as will be shown in later sections of this work.

1.9 Applying the implementation model

The subject of this research is the implementation of English as a medium of instruction in Namibia. In this section it is intended to answer the question of **what exactly** can be, and will be, studied. The tools of this analysis have already been discussed above; they are:

- (1) The **four criteria** for this study;
- (2) the **implementation model** of Sabatier and Mazmanian.

The analysis will proceed, in the first instance, by applying the criteria to the model, to enable a crude distinction to be made between what **cannot** be studied and what can. The second step in the analysis will be to subject the surviving factors, those that **can** be studied, to further examination, to determine their actual usefulness for, and place in, this research.

What CANNOT be studied?

Before eliminating components of the model, it is useful to summarize the criteria (see 5.1 above) according to which the analysis will proceed: (i) The condition should exist now; (ii) and in the future; (iii) The findings should be useful now; (iv) and in the future. (v) The conditions should be part of the implementation process. (vi) The study should conform with academic requirements.

Criterion (v) has been met by choosing a model of the implementation process as a basis for the study, while (vi) is not operative at this stage. Thus the analysis proceeds by applying criteria (i)-(iv) to the Sabatier and Mazmanian model.

At this point it is important to note that many of the factors which are listed by Sabatier and Mazmanian in their implementation model, are considered unsuitable for research purposes only because one of the criteria for this study prescribes that the factor(s) studied should exist **in the future** also, while displaying approximately the same characteristics as in the present. It is on these grounds alone that many of the

factors in the model are rejected as suitable objects for this research. However, this rejection by no means invalidates their importance as factors in the implementation process, and, as will be seen, almost every one of these factors is in some way taken into account when discussing the implementation of the English-medium policy under present conditions. Indeed, the factors listed as "statutory variables" are discussed at some length in at least two places in this study, where they provide valuable illumination of the present situation. It is only the uncertainty and fluidity of the current political dispensation which invalidates many of these factors as **subjects of study** in longer-term research.

To begin with, all six of the "non-statutory variables" are rejected as being inapplicable for this study. The main reason for rejection is that, in most cases, their future condition cannot be predicted; this applies to the factors "socio-economic conditions", "media attention", "constituency groups", "support from sovereigns" and "implementing officials". Regarding "public support", it has been shown (Human Sciences Research Council, 1982) that there is a high level of support for the use of English in the educational system. Recent experience leads to the confident assumption that this will continue or increase in the future; data gathered in the course of this research as reported later, and continuing implementation of English-medium instruction, show the extent of support given to English-medium policies by teachers and communities .

The majority of the factors under "Ability of the

statute to structure the implementation process" are also rejected, for the same reason. These include the following: "policy directives", "financial directives", "hierarchical integration within and among agencies", "decision-rules" and "formal access by outsiders." The disparate and conflicting nature of these factors in Namibia at present has already been noted, and it will be shown that co-ordinated national language policies cannot be achieved at present. Future conditions cannot be predicted. As stated above, the fact that these components are rejected as possible areas of research does not imply that they will be ignored. They are integral aspects of the implementation process, and will be taken into account in later parts of this study.

What CAN be studied? (A basic scheme for research)

All of the factors listed under "(Conditions contributing to) **tractability of problem**" conform with the criteria, in large measure. However, a thorough study of these factors will require much more in the way of space, resources and manpower than this research permits. In addition, something is already known about each one. Thus it will be proposed that these factors will form the essential **background** to the study. The first of the "Dependent Variables", namely **"Policy outputs**, cannot be examined at this stage because (i) The English-medium policy in education has, at the time of writing, only been implemented in one part of Namibia, and then only for a short time, and (ii) As will be shown, language policy in education is primarily a mediating, not a causal, variable in national policy. In consequence, actual outputs, which are frequently different to those which are proposed,

cannot be evaluated until the policy has been implemented with a high degree of consistency and control, and then over a reasonable period of time for its effects to be observable. However, this research will in part concern itself with examining proposed outputs and the theoretical likelihood of success being realised.

One component remains as having potential for study, this being **"Recruitment of implementing officials"** under the category **"Ability of the statute to structure implementation"**. While a change in political dispensation may result in the replacement of top-level implementing officials (directors of educational divisions, senior inspectors, etc.) the fact remains that **the teachers comprise the overwhelming majority of implementers**. They are already in the service and the present corps will form the basis for the future; in addition, while changes and improvements will probably occur, in many respects future prognosis can be firmly based on the present characteristics and qualities of the teacher corps.

1.10 Teachers as the central concern of this research

By studying the implementation model of Sabatier and Mazmanian, in the light of the criteria for this research, it has been shown that teachers emerge as the one relatively stable variable in the model, which can form the basis for this study. Approximately fifty percent of the teachers in Namibia at present are under thirty years of age, thus giving them a service life of over thirty years more. As Mbamba acknowledges in his

proposals for an educational system for an independent Namibia, "the teacher corps stock at primary level will have to consist largely of existing teachers in Namibia" (1982:151). Secondly, teachers already have long experience of the operation of bilingual education policies and, as will be seen, the substance of proposals for future reform do not differ greatly from present practices in many key respects. Thirdly, teachers are not only implementers of language policy, but also products of the system, which accounts for their inherent conservatism as discussed in Beeby (1966). The words of Hill apply pre-eminently to teachers: "implementers are themselves part of the social environment in which they operate" (1980: 103). Fourthly, at least one study (Totemeyer, 1977), and enquiry during the course of this present research, attest to the leading role played by teachers as opinion-formers. Above all, the most cogent argument for focusing attention on teachers is that they are the extensive front-line of implementers. Without their skill, effort and convinced commitment, there is little likelihood of educational policies succeeding.

Policy-makers and higher-level bureaucrats are often mistaken in assuming that front-line implementers, those who operationalise policies, are as committed and motivated as those in authority. Havelock and Huberman find that a substantial cause of the disparity between policy intentions and results lies in the fact that the key actors in innovation are either external advisers, or relatively remote figures such as education officials, heads of university departments, or close personal advisers (Havelock and Huberman, 1977: 15). This disparity between intentions and results is likely

to be exacerbated where teachers consider themselves to be a disadvantaged elite (Thompson, 1981) or, as in the case of Namibia, at odds with the dispensation, and in disagreement with the educational system which they serve. In authoritarian and non-representative situations such as in Namibia, too, it is likely that decision-makers will be liable to what Prewitt and Oculi call "the fallacy of misplaced inference", which they define as "the error of inferring the attitudes and beliefs of a group from the doctrines to which that group is exposed". They state that this problem is "particularly acute when the observer is unable to get attitudinal data" (Prewitt and Oculi, 1971:21), a process which has not been attempted in Namibia. This dissonance may result from active hostility, or, perhaps more often, from what Prewitt and Oculi term the conservatism of the school system: "Educationists have evolved their own way of doing things and their own set of values. It is a mistake to think that they are without wills of their own, that they are easily manipulable" (ibid.:10). This view is complemented by that of Sabatier and Mazmanian, who find commitment to be an essential quality in successful implementation:

...most positions within any governmental agency are occupied by career civil servants who are often resistant of changes...In fact, the generally limited ability of policy formulators to assign implementation to agency officials committed to its objectives probably lies behind many cases of suboptimal correspondence of policy outputs with statutory objectives (Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979a:490).

The vital task of securing co-operation from those involved at the operational phase is attested by

Williams, who deplores the frequent failure to gain the understanding of "those most directly involved in the treatment - in the education example, a supervisor teacher, a classroom teacher, and the students", by reducing the "formidable barriers" which may exist at the levels of these "final actors" (Williams, 1975: 547). Thompson lists many of these barriers: teachers are modestly trained, modestly qualified, limited in motivation, morale and status, inclined to keep to the safe paths, and resentful of extra work required by change, which is usually not remunerated. Nevertheless, in his words "educational change must involve the teacher to be effective" (Thompson, 1981: 159-160). Pressman and Wildavsky concur, stating that "if one wishes to assure a reasonable prospect of implementation, there must be a high probability that each and every actor will co-operate" (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973: 132). Writing on language policy, Kennedy correctly emphasises the crucial role of the teacher:

At the focal point in educational language planning is the teacher, since it is the successful application of curriculum and syllabus plans in the classroom, themselves instruments of higher levels of language planning, that will affect the realisation of national level planning (Kennedy, 1983: ix).

How can this essential contribution be secured from teachers in Namibia? The laying down of sanctions, particularly in the present political climate, can only lead to resentment and to unforeseen outcomes. Only an incentives approach can succeed: "if curriculum development is to bear fruit, its impact on the teacher's

situation, self-image and sense of professional security and confidence needs to be a prime consideration". (Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development, 1975: 14). These authors then elaborate their argument by presenting what can be regarded as one of the most important ingredients:

...the process of curriculum development is dependent on winning the acquiescence of the teachers, and, more than this, on drawing from them the essential contribution which teachers can make...building up the teachers' confidence is not an optional extra but a sine qua non of the development process (ibid.:40).

What is the contribution that teachers can make, under current conditions, in the absence of a highly-qualified corps, and without mechanisms for their involvement in curriculum development? Teachers have for many years been engaged in the implementation of bilingual education programmes in Namibia, have seen the results at first-hand, and are well acquainted with the views and aspirations of their communities. A first-rank measure to effect more successful implementation will be to utilise teachers' experiences and motivations, in respect of their attitudes towards key aspects of medium of instruction policies, as they are likely to be realised. This is most likely to achieve the commitment and personal security of teachers, in that the devising and implementation of language education policies may be brought into line with the expectations and motivations of teachers. At the same time, the findings must be tested against a model for bilingual education in Namibia, for unrealistic or partial perceptions of possibilities may easily arise in contexts where the

options are not known, and where political motivations play such a strong role in the formulation of language policy.

The basic proposition of this study is thus:

That a study of the characteristics, attitudes, beliefs and experiences of teachers is, in the current situation (e.g. as attested by an analysis of the Sabatier and Mazmanian model) not only the most productive line of approach, but that it will also yield valuable data in the light of which current and proposed policies can be evaluated and/or refined.

1.11 Summary: Design of this research

In conclusion, the basic design of this study will be restated:

(1) Apply the basic criteria for this research, these being (i) The conditions examined should exist now and should reasonably be expected to exist in the future; (ii) The findings should be applicable now and in the future; (iii) The conditions or factors investigated should form an integral part of the implementation process; (iv) The study should conform with academic requirements.

(2) In the light of a suitable policy-implementation model, establish which variables conform with the criteria. The Sabatier and Mazmanian model was selected, and teachers were attested as the prime factor to be investigated. The basic policy-theory conditions of the model, those which determine the tractability of the problem, will be examined in the theoretical discussion

which precedes an account of the research itself.

(3) Extensive proposals for language policy in education have already been made by both parties which are contending for political control in Namibia. The essence of these proposals will form the basis of the hypotheses of this study.

(4) The attitudes, characteristics and beliefs of teachers will be attested, as they have bearing upon these hypotheses. This will be done in pursuance of the basic proposition that this is the most effective way in which the essential co-operation of teachers can be secured in respect of the implementation process.

(5) These attitudes, characteristics and beliefs will be mediated through a proposed model for bilingual education in Namibia, which will be established after consideration of the literature, and by comparative study.

(6) Conclusions and recommendations will be formulated.

CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND: A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF SALIENT GEOGRAPHIC, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, DEMOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF NAMIBIA.

This chapter provides a background to essential features of Namibia, some of which will be referred to and expanded upon in later parts of this study. Separate chapters are assigned to discussions of language policy in education, and of the educational system in general.

Namibia has historically been called South West Africa, since at least the mid-nineteenth century. The designation has frequently been faulted as being nothing more than a geographical description, and since the 1960's the term "Namibia" has been popularised primarily by the political movement SWAPO of Namibia (South West African People's Organization) and others. It is now almost universally accepted, to the extent that the earlier name is hardly ever encountered. However, "South West Africa" is used by the South African government and its agencies, as well as by more conservative bodies in the territory itself. In this study, "Namibia" will generally be used, although "South West Africa" will be employed where it is historically appropriate.

2.1 Geographical features

It is commonly claimed that the geographical features of Namibia "are intimately related to the present human issues of the territory" (Wellington, 1967: 3) by which is meant that the scarcity of resources, the size and aridity of the territory, and the wide variations in seasonal and annual rainfall have all played a role

in patterns of settlement and of control.

Namibia is bounded on the south by the Orange River, its common border with South Africa; on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, on the north by the Kunene and Okavango Rivers, in part common borders with Angola and Zambia, and on the east by a boundary on longitude 20 degrees east and, further north, on longitude 22 degrees. In the north-east the narrow Caprivi Strip, an historical anomaly, thrusts outwards above Botswana to a common meeting point with that country, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Angola. In all, Namibia is about 1000 kilometres wide in the north (excluding the Caprivi Strip) and about 350 kilometres wide in the south; its length is approximately 1300 kilometres. The total surface area is 824 296 square kilometres, about the size of Great Britain and France together.

There are three major surface features: the plateau hardveld, the Namib Desert coastal plain, and the Kalahari sandveld. The plateau may be conceived of as roughly the shape of South America, with its broad northern part to the south of Owambo and the Etosha Pan, tapering sharply to the south, towards the Orange River. Down the whole Atlantic coast is the Namib Desert, separated from the plateau for a considerable distance by the escarpment which is, however, not prominent in the central and northern regions. The Sandveld intrudes ever more westwards towards the south, until it almost meets the Namib at the tapered tip of the plateau near the Orange River. Almost all the northern areas of the country, Owambo and Kavango, are also sandveld.

Rainfall is generally highest in the north-east, decreasing steadily westwards and southwards. Thus the northern areas have an annual average precipitation of about 600 mm, and the central areas (including the capital city, Windhoek) between 300 mm and 400 mm. Large areas of the south have between 100 mm and 200 mm, while the coastal desert strip for its whole length has considerably less, down to 25 mm along the coast itself. All the rain falls during the summer season in the form of thundershowers, which results in much of the water rushing away, often doing damage. However, the sandveld areas tend to retain water, because of the general levelness of the terrain and their porosity. The rate of evaporation is high, and the rainfall is extremely variable, which results in frequent droughts. Under such conditions, cultivation is almost impossible, except in the northern areas or under irrigation. Stock-raising, which is extensively practised, depends not only on the availability of water but also on the seasonal nutritional content of the grasses. Most large commercial farms (ranches) raise cattle or sheep, and there is little agriculture, except of the subsistence type in the northern areas. These patterns of rainfall, and the comparatively well-grassed nature of the central areas, account in large measure for the predominant concentration of population in the north, and for the main thrust of colonial development in the central and southern regions.

There are no perennial rivers within the borders of Namibia, and modern sector activities and urban areas have to be supplied by large dams which are dependent on the run-off during the rainy season. An ambitious project, the Eastern National Water Carrier, is

at present only partially completed but will eventually bring water from the Okavango River down to the central areas, as far as Windhoek.

2.2 Demographic and linguistic features

The national census of 1981 provided the following data on the size of ethnic groups within the territory:

Coloured	42241
Wambo	505774
Kavango	94690
Caprivi	38594
Herero	76293
Damara	76169
Tswana	6706
Bushman	29441
Nama	48539
Baster	25181
White	75946
Other	12403
Total	<u>1030925</u>

There are a number of anomalies in this census classification, which reflects patterns of South African political organisation in Namibia, and is based upon neither purely linguistic nor cultural-ethnic criteria. The separate classification of, for example, Herero and Wambo groups is primarily linguistic; consistency would therefore require that the "White" group should be separately enumerated according to its English-, German- and Afrikaans-speaking components. In addition, the "Coloured" and "Baster" groups are almost entirely Afrikaans-speaking, as is a portion of the "Nama" group. If purely linguistic criteria were applied, only three

language families would be reflected: Bantu, European and Khoesan. Cultural-ethnic criteria would be more difficult to determine, but would certainly include the White, Coloured and Baster peoples within one category, namely those who have European antecedents and maintain mainly Western habits.

An estimate made in 1980 for the United Nations Institute for Namibia (UNIN) in Lusaka, Zambia, provides the following data:

Africans, northern areas	802500
Africans, southern areas	327500
Coloureds	127500
Whites	102500
Total	<u>1360000</u>

(Source: SWAPO, 1981: 322)

An official publication emanating from Windhoek in 1982 admits that previous census surveys suffered from inaccuracies and lack of reliable birth- and death-rate statistics. This publication was compiled prior to the release of the 1981 census statistics, and gives various estimates for the total population of Namibia in 1980: 978 000, 1 040 000, and 1 050 374. It projects an annual population growth rate of 2,62% for the decade 1980 - 1990 (Advieskomitee, Volume 2, 1982: 6-26).

There are three major linguistic groups in Namibia. The large majority of the population speak languages of the Bantu family, primarily those listed in the 1981 census as Wambo, Kavango, Herero, Caprivi and Tswana. The second largest group comprises the Khoesan family, consisting of Nama-Damara and the Bushman languages. Thirdly, there

is the European group of languages, primarily Afrikaans, English and German. Afrikaner language nationalists often claim that Afrikaans is "African" rather than "European", but the latter designation is certainly far more accurate in view of the close connection between Afrikaans and Dutch.

The language situation can be summarised as follows:

(a) Bantu family: Ndonga and Kwanyama are the main dialects of the Wambo groups. Ndonga is used as the written language by the other, smaller Wambo groups: Kwambi, Ngandjera, Kwaludhi, Mbalantu, Eunda and Nkolonkadhi. In the Kavango area Mbukushu, Kwangali, Gciriku, Mbunza and Sambiu are spoken. An unusual situation pertains in the Caprivi, where Lozi (a major language of Zambia) is used as a lingua franca by the local groups who have Yei, Subiya, Fwe and Totela as their respective home languages. Herero is spoken over a large central area of the country as well as in Kaokoland in the north-west. Finally, a small number of people speak Tswana.

(b) Khoesan family: Nama is spoken by both the Nama and the Damara, as well as by the Hai//om Bushmen; the language is usually referred to as Nama-Damara, in recognition of political and historical differences which, however, are not reflected in any significant degree of linguistic variation. The largest of the Bushman languages is !Xu.

(c) European family: Afrikaans has the largest number of speakers, and is the most widely used lingua franca. It has official status, together with English; this

reflects the constitutional provisions of South Africa. German has semi-official status, being used by some ethnic government departments as a third recognized language. A small number of people are Portuguese-speaking. (Sources: Zimmermann, 1984; Haacke, 1985)

The ethnic-linguistic classifications provided in the 1981 census, as shown in the table above, in fact reflect the designations of the regional ethnic authorities to whom considerable powers have been devolved under the South African apartheid system. This divide-and-rule policy, a replica of the South African "homelands" dispensation, employs home language as a convenient distinguishing feature, and attempts to maintain this distinction by promoting the respective vernaculars as mediums of instruction, and as school subjects, in education. It is a policy which is vigorously rejected by those Namibians who favour modernisation and integration, and who in consequence advocate the use of one supra-ethnic language throughout the educational system. The categorisation provided above may suggest that some language groups are to be found only within certain areas. While this is substantially correct, job-seeking and urbanisation are increasingly contributing to the growth of multilingual communities throughout Namibia.

2.3 History

The intention here is to give only a brief overview of the recent history of Namibia. Historical matters which are more relevant to this study will be discussed in Chapters Three and Four, and elsewhere.

The history of Namibia can conveniently be placed in three phases: pre-colonial, German colonial, and the "Mandate" period (South African control). The current and ongoing conflict concerns the fourth phase, independence, which has not yet been reached.

Although sparsely documented and difficult of access because of the lack of written records, pre-colonial times witnessed patterns of migration and shift typical of Southern Africa. The original inhabitants of Namibia appear to have been the Bushmen, now relegated to inaccessible and scattered areas. Their displacement was the result of movements from the north of Bantu language groups, primarily the Owambo tribes who occupied a large area stretching into what is now southern Angola. Later, the Hereros migrated southwards, partially displacing the Khoe-speaking Damara. At the same time the Nama (also Khoe-speaking), who had occupied the south, were also migrating northwards. In the 1830's the "original" Nama tribes joined the new groups, the Oorlams, who assisted in turning the balance of power and forcing the Hereros to halt their southward movement. While some sources emphasise peace and co-operation, for example stating that "The people were bound together by ties of reciprocity and a network of long-distance trade", and evoke "patterns of peaceful existence" (SWAPO, 1981: 12) others document continual warfare between the Nama/Oorlams and the Hereros in the central areas around Windhoek, Okahandja and the Swakop Valley. Bley states that

Twenty years of intertribal war between the Herero and Nama (1863-1870 and 1880-1892) had removed the last vestiges of political equilibrium in the territory, and with it the economic prosperity brought about by



the extensive trading-network which had grown up in the region (Bley, 1971: xxi).

These views can be reconciled by recognizing that in the immediate pre-colonial period the northern area was, apparently, settled and stable, with contact flowing north and east perhaps more than south; and that the central areas were the focus of migrations and struggles for resources. This introduces the concept of "separate histories" for the northern and central/southern areas, which will be discussed in greater detail with reference to language policy and education, and which in the recent time has had a very significant influence on the spread of English-medium education.

European intrusion in this period was restricted to the establishment of mission work, primarily by the Rhenish mission amongst the Hereros and Namas, and the activities of small numbers of traders. Walvis Bay, the major trading outlet, had been annexed by the British in 1867 and today is administered as part of South Africa. The major trading interests in the territory were British and Cape colonial, and a number of attempts were made to have the British government intervene in the territory to protect and advance traders' interests.

In 1884 the German government declared its protectorate over a coastal strip in the south, after considerable negotiations with the British government. The German presence was formally established in 1890 in Windhoek, amidst continuing battles between the Nama "nation" led by Witbooi, and the Hereros. The most serious consequence of this first colonial occupation, one that endures deeply to this day, was the alienation of land to white settler use, and the consequent circumscription of

the areas available to the Nama and Herero people. This was the origin of the "native reserves", places to which the retreating dispossessed were relegated. The land theft naturally provoked resistance, culminating in the German wars with the Hereros and Namas, which began in 1904. Bley documents the results of the deliberate German campaign against Herero existence as follows: "When an armistice was eventually signed on 20 December 1905 there were only some 16000 survivors from a Herero population of between 60000 and 80000" (Bley, 1971: 150). The Nama also suffered both humiliation and further land alienation in defeat: as Ngavirue puts it, "The post-war problem became one of enticing settlers from Germany to come and share the land, and of collecting African fugitives to herd the cattle" (Ngavirue, 1967: 181).

In 1915 the German forces capitulated to the invading South African armies and this triggered what Ngavirue calls "the second scramble for land" (ibid.:183). The northern areas had remained unaffected by war and land alienation, but within the Police Zone (i.e. the area under direct colonial administration), the Africans possessed only 1 028 711 hectares against 11 490 000 hectares given over to white farmers. A further 1 303 400 hectares were occupied by the Baster people in the Rehoboth Gebiet. Ngavirue says, "South Africa accepted with silent gratitude the displacement of the Africans by the Germans and set to work to make the best of it" (ibid: 184). "Native reserve" areas were further delimited and consolidated, and South African settlers were brought in to occupy land which had been abandoned by German farmers, or which had not been taken up by them before 1914. Concurrently, another German policy which

dove-tailed with South Africa's own practices was continued and extended: that of a "two-stream" economy, in which land and resources were used for the benefit and enrichment of whites, with black people supplying the unskilled labour. Black people, including those in the northern areas, were legally confined to the "reserve" areas, except insofar as their labour was required by the white-benefiting economy. Often this was organized around a "contract labour" system, by which black workers were temporarily employed on short contracts before being returned to the "reserves". These areas usually consisted of poor or marginal land, in a country subject to harsh conditions and climatic fluctuations; the system was designed not only to provide land for white use but to regulate the supply of cheap labour from the overcrowded and poverty-stricken "reserves".

South Africa's own apartheid legislation was extended to South West Africa: black people were excluded from owning property in "White areas", from aspiring to certain categories of employment, and from benefitting from most state and private-sector facilities and services. The few black people who might raise their sights above a subsistence or labouring existence were effectively restrained by an educational system which was not only minimally financed, but which restricted the great majority of black pupils to an attainment no higher than the fifth year (Standard 3). Resistance to the mother-tongue component of education was articulated as early as the 1930's, by indigenous groups who perceived this to be promoting dependency (see Chapter Four).

South African control of South West Africa was formally ratified in 1920 by the League of Nations, via a mandate

over the territory granted under the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles by which Germany relinquished all rights over her former colonies. Article 2 of the Mandate provided, *inter alia*, that the mandatory power might "apply the laws of the Union of South Africa to the territory subject to such local modifications as circumstances require. The Mandatory shall promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory subject to the present Mandate" (Carroll, 1967: 116). As has already been noted, South Africa did indeed apply both its laws and its practices to the territory. The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, the "watch dog" over the administration of mandated territories, raised many questions and complaints concerning South Africa's administration, particularly in respect of the welfare and progress of the native inhabitants. A sensitive point was always the question of sovereignty, with South Africa tending to want full annexation of its mandated territory, and the League of Nations resisting such tendencies. (cf. Carroll, 1967; United Nations Institute for Namibia, 1987b).

After the demise of the League of Nations, the United Nations claimed to have inherited responsibility for the Mandated territories. An advisory opinion was solicited from the International Court of Justice in 1950; the court's decision was that South Africa did not have to submit a trust report to the U.N. (this being voluntary) but that the U.N. had inherited the mandate and acted as supervisor. This judicial opinion followed a four-year period during which South Africa had ceased submitting the customary annual report on the territory, had held a "referendum" on incorporation (only tribal leaders in the

territory were consulted) and had passed a bill of parliament which effectively incorporated South West Africa as a "fifth province". The response of the U.N. was to authorise its newly established Committee on South West Africa to prepare its own annual report for submission to the General Assembly. A decade of negotiations between South Africa and various U.N. bodies followed, but with no agreement in sight and a hardening of attitudes on both sides, more forceful action followed when two former League members, Ethiopia and Liberia, brought an International Court of Justice action against South Africa. After six years of debate and submissions, the Court dismissed the case on the grounds that the mandate made no provision for individual members of the League of Nations to challenge its execution. It expressed no opinion on the charges brought, which dealt with the suppression of rights in S.W.A., segregation, the inequalities of facilities and spending, restrictions on movement and, in general, the practice of apartheid. Although regarded as a "victory" by South Africa, the Court's decision served only to alienate the majority of the U.N. members who were opposed to South Africa's administration of South West Africa. In 1967 the General Assembly adopted a resolution terminating the mandate for S.W.A. and declaring that South Africa had no right to administer the territory. This revocation of the Mandate was endorsed by the Security Council in 1969, and supported by an Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice in 1971 (cf. Cockram, 1976; Totemeyer, 1977).

During the late 1940's, the Reverend Michael Scott undertook a remarkable series of lone fact-finding missions amongst the Herero people, both in South West

Africa and amongst the expatriate communities in the Bechuanaland Protectorate (now Botswana). His mission culminated in representations made personally to the United Nations, in which he conveyed the wishes of the Herero people, in particular their strong and long-enduring desire for the return of land alienated during German colonial times, and their opposition to the incorporation of South West Africa by South Africa. Reverend Scott reported wide-spread disillusionment with South Africa among the Herero people, not only because of apartheid policies but also because they maintained that South Africa had promised to restore to them their tribal lands if the Germans were defeated (Troup, 1950: 57). Scott also articulated in writing what has since been recognised as a continuing theme in the Namibian dispute, when he reported that the inhabitants of the Aminuis Reserve spoke "as though they regarded the United Nations as the answer to their prayers. May the cynics blush for shame, they do regard it as God's instrument of freedom and justice for their people" (ibid.: 146). As is shown in Chapter Three, Scott's visit was followed by statements by Herero leaders who expressed their dissatisfaction with education, amongst other matters. Hostility was expressed towards vernacular- and Afrikaans-medium education and a greater role for English was advocated.

During the 1960's, the major churches, which had recently become indigenised after over a century of missionary control, began to voice their opposition to apartheid, deprivation and South African hegemony. In 1964 and 1967 the Lutheran churches, representing a large proportion of the inhabitants, addressed memoranda to the South African government, "in which they expressed their grave concern

about the peace and future of South West Africa, giving examples to show the inhuman effects of the policy of racial segregation" (Groth, 1972: 185). When there was no response, the leaders of these churches addressed an open letter to the Prime Minister of South Africa and at the same time directed that a pastoral letter should be read from all pulpits. In the face of rejection and hostility by the South African authorities and many white people, the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches in South West Africa were quick to express their solidarity with the Lutherans.

The union of the two major Lutheran churches under one co-ordinating body (VELKSWA) in 1972 was regarded as "a contribution to the victory over tribal particularism", that is, over one of the basic features of South Africa's apartheid policy (Totemeyer, 1977: 213). Since then, through the Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN), which shows its nationally-integrative intentions by its use and propagation of English, the churches have regularly made known their desire for an independent and united Namibia. For example, in 1986 the member churches of the CCN and a number of political parties issued the Ai//Gams Declaration, which, inter alia, affirmed "the inalienable right of the Namibian people to independence now", "the inviolability of the territorial integrity of our country and our commitment to One Namibia, One Nation", and "the international status of Namibia and the obligations of the international community". The member churches of the CCN claim to represent over seventy percent of the population of Namibia, and have increasingly come to be regarded as a major source of opposition to South Africa's policies in Namibia. Their role is all the more significant because of their broad, cross-ethnic

representativeness, and because so much political opposition is stifled. The significant influence exercised by the churches is given testimony in the published results of a mid-1980's survey in Owambo: "Education is, after that of the ELCIN (ELOK) church, the most influential opinion-former in Owamboland" (Malan, 1986:1) (translated from Afrikaans; my emphasis).

The 1960's marked the beginning of internal political opposition to South African rule in Namibia. The South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) was formed in 1960, and began organising both internally and externally. It launched its first guerrilla attacks into Owambo in 1966. The war has continued and escalated, causing deep divisions and bringing a predictable response from South Africa in the form of increased militarisation and wide-ranging "security" legislation. Malan is of the opinion that "The image of SWAPO as the liberator of the black man is established in the hearts of a large proportion of the population" (1986:4) (translated from Afrikaans).

Politically, South Africa adopted a two-faceted approach during the 1970's. Firstly, it co-operated to an extent with United Nations initiatives on the basis that "the inhabitants of South West Africa have the right to decide their own future", having recognized that a future without international recognition is untenable. This shift was brought about by internal opposition in Namibia and the collapse of Portuguese rule in Angola and Mozambique. Secondly, South Africa has regarded SWAPO as an anathema and has tried to mobilise and enhance the credibility of "moderate" parties in Namibia. The first

initiative centred on the formation of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, which was installed as an "interim government" in 1979. This collapsed in 1981, and since then there have been ongoing attempts to broaden and resuscitate the initiative via an "Interim Government" aimed at producing a credible "government of national unity". At the same time, South Africa's decision to impose a "homeland" or "national state" system (denigrated by opponents as "Bantustan") on Namibia has been rationalised into a so-called "two-tier" policy, by which eleven "ethnic groups" each have their own local government, responsible for a wide range of functions. The "first-tier" is the "national" one, in which issues of common, overriding concern are handled by the "national government". In effect, this has meant administration by the South African-appointed Administrator-General, who acts as virtual one-man governor of the territory.

In brief, the following major issues in the contemporary political situation must be noted: (1) SWAPO enjoys considerable international support, both by the United Nations and many governments. Its internal support has not been formally tested, but is presumed to be extensive. South Africa itself has conceded that no recognized independence for Namibia can be achieved without the support of SWAPO. (2) South Africa's public stance is that SWAPO is "evil", "terroristic" and "Marxist", and that it is unacceptable as a governing party in Namibia. Its propaganda has been aimed at convincing its own exclusively white electorate that SWAPO is not only beyond the pale but also without majority support in Namibia. (3) Yet the South African government knows that, having conceded that Namibia is on

the road to independence, no meaningful solution can be found without the involvement of SWAPO as a majority party in the agreement. It also knows that ultimately legitimacy will only be conferred by the United Nations.

(4) Present South African tactics are aimed at boosting the credibility of other Namibian parties against the day when an internationally-supervised election takes place. Concurrently, Namibia is being drawn even more into the South African "constellation" via economic and administrative measures. The effectiveness of these measures should not be under-estimated. South Africa has complete control over external road and rail points, via Walvis Bay and the routes over the Orange River. The greatest portion of Namibian exports goes to South Africa, and an even greater portion of imports comes from there. The extensive civil service is controlled by South African-inclined white officials. South African-based expertise controls the majority of commercial, industrial and mining undertakings. In addition, South Africa claims that levels of public expenditure in Namibia are maintained only by increasingly large subsidies. This is disputed by many, on the grounds that South Africa has always extracted far more from Namibia than it returned, and that this practice still continues. Whatever the truth of colonial exploitation, or not, and of the actual and potential strengths of the economy, these considerations will not influence the strong desire for national self-determination. It is no exaggeration to say that the single most important cause of the widespread demand for English-medium education, which is linked to expectations of future developments in national language policy, has been the political perceptions of nationalist-inclined Namibians.

These individuals and groups regard vernacular- and Afrikaans-medium in education as dependency-inducing measures on the part of the colonial power, and thus advocate English as a resource which will assist in the attainment of greater national self-sufficiency (cf. Totemeyer, 1977, 1978; United Nations Institute for Namibia, 1981; Malan, 1986). It is a policy which accords with the language practices of the states in Southern Africa which have supported anti-apartheid and nationalist movements trying to overthrow white power in South Africa, and in Namibia. The dangers of admitting new types of imperialism by substituting one European language for another, i.e. English for Afrikaans (cf. Melber, 1985; Phillipson, Skutnabb-Kangas and Africa, 1985) are considered subordinate to the assumed benefits in terms of national integration, and orientation towards markets and influences which are less pressing in their imperialist tendencies. The broad parameters of this debate, as it is universally pursued, will be discussed in the succeeding chapters of this work, and in particular in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER THREE: EDUCATION IN NAMIBIA

3.1 Education, ideology and social policies: a general introduction

The concern of this study is to propose ways in which English as a medium of instruction can most effectively be implemented in Namibia. It has already been shown that implementation is a complex process, part of the broader process of policy-making as a whole. Consideration of the policy-implementation model of Sabatier and Mazmanian (1979b), which, as stated earlier, has been adopted to inform this study, serves to remind one of the details of that complexity. Applied to the situation of English in education in Namibia, study of the model first directs the attention to the theoretical basis of all policy-making: to basic assumptions of cause and effect in the social world, as informed by an understanding of a specific set of relevant conditions. The act of making policy is, however, not neutral, not a function of immutable and disinterested natural laws. It is an act of power, set within certain relations of social domination and social subordination. It is also a philosophical and moral act, which is, in the first place, informed by the values of those who have access to the structures through which decisions (policies) are planned, implemented and operationalised. Social policies are not only an expression of the values of those who design them, but also, especially in strongly ideological contexts which embody "systematically asymmetrical relations of power" (Thompson, 1984: 63), these policies are conscious attempts at "the modification or manipulation of values, beliefs and sentiments" (Gorman, 1973: 74). This entails

manipulation not only of those who are the "target group", in the words of Sabatier and Mazmanian, but also of those involved in planning and implementation of the policy:

If one wishes to assure a reasonable prospect of program implementation, he had better begin with a high probability that each and every actor will cooperate (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973: 132).

Even in conditions of relatively low dissonance and stress, it is observed that implementers will inevitably reformulate policy to some extent (Hambleton, 1983), and that the perceived impacts of policy outputs might differ quite markedly from actual impacts (Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979b). These likelihoods are greatly increased in situations of conflict, as in Namibia, where value-systems differ widely:

Participants in a common enterprise may act in a contradictory fashion because of ignorance...If we relax the assumption that a common purpose is involved, however, and admit the possibility (indeed, the likelihood) of conflict over goals, then coordination becomes another term for coercion. Since actors A and B disagree with goal C, they can only be "coordinated" by being told what to do. Coordination thus becomes a form of power (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973: 133).

The previous chapter of this work has briefly drawn attention to the "systematically asymmetrical" relations of power which have operated in Namibia, and to the diverse levels of government and administration by which authority is exercised to continue to maintain

differentiated social benefits. Consideration of the components of the Sabatier and Mazmanian model, adopted earlier, serves to inform the scholar of the problematic nature of implementation under such conditions and, thus, the imperative to attain coordination by overt and consistent exercise of power. Based on the model, it may be observed, amongst other factors, that under present conditions in Namibia, not even the "statutory variables" ("ability of the statute to structure implementation") can easily be aligned and controlled: even unambiguous policy directives become diffuse when channelled through a differentiated network of agencies; integration within and among implementing agencies is notably problematical; recruitment of sympathetic and committed officials cannot be assured. In respect of the "non-statutory variables" which are identified by Sabatier and Mazmanian, those which can in theory less easily be controlled by the policy-makers, it is obvious that under the strongly ideologised dispensation in Namibia, factors such as media attention, public support, and the attitudes and resources of constituency groups are likely to vary greatly as they apply to the policy-of-reference. In addition, as this chapter intends to show in respect of education, there have been and will be major variances in respect of the "dependent variables" of the model, those directly involved in the implementation process: factors such as the compliance of target groups, and perceived as against actual impacts of the policy.

In what relation does formal education stand to social policy-making? Education is, firstly, as Bull remarks, a social enterprise in which society, "through its collective efforts, provides the individual with

advantages he cannot personally attain" (Bull, 1964: 528). The concept of "advantage" is, of course, inherently value-laden, not only as a cultural conception expressing perceptions of the right and best way to live, but also as a term which applies to the effort to attain a share of resources which, in the social and natural world, are frequently scarce and difficult of access. In this connection, language itself is properly regarded as a resource (cf. Fishman, Cooper and Rosenbaum, 1977; Scotton, 1982). The maintenance of an educational enterprise requires, too, an allocation of certain resources: hence, a value-based choice between conflicting and competing claims and alternatives. These choices are exercised directly through the political system, which orders the philosophical or theoretical basis on which choices are made, the priorities which are applied, the manner in which they are implemented and, fundamentally, determines who is involved in making the choices, and to what extent. While getting educated may be the result of private decision and may employ private resources (Bull, 1964), the modern educational endeavour which is the subject of this research is pre-eminently a political enterprise which is arranged on a national basis. It is an institution which absorbs a large share of national manpower and resources, and one which both reflects dominant social values and serves to reinforce them:

...there is no society which could sanction that one of its main institutions should set itself headlong against the mainstream of social values. Institutions tend naturally to reinforce society, unless that society is in dissolution (Inglis, 1975: 25).

Thompson's (1984) useful definition of ideology has

already been cited: that is, that it is realised in the perpetuation of "systematically asymmetrical" relations of power. Because such relations obviously confer unequal advantages, clearly perceptible both to those who benefit and to those who do not, and because they must necessarily operate via systems whose public operators and administrative functions, at least, are clearly comprehensible to all, it is necessary that ideology should legitimize (justify group action, ensure social acceptance), dissimulate (conceal the true relations of power, and extent of advantage/disadvantage), and reify (justify the existing relations as a manifestation of correct, even eternal, order) (Thompson, 1984: 131). Furthermore, as Apple says, ideology has three distinctive features: legitimation (as above), power conflict realised in the formal distribution of authority, resources and rewards, and style of argument. The latter serves to reinforce solidarity, to persuade, mobilize and convert, and to disguise the vague quality of ideas and assumptions (Apple, 1979: 20).

At this point it should be made explicit that the brief exposition above, concerning the nature of ideology, is in service of the thesis being pursued at this point: that power relations in Namibia are classically ideological, and that the educational system is, and has been, a major instrument of ideology. The entry into the argument of the primary concern of this research, language in education, will be deferred while the general nature of education and its relation to ideology and social theory are examined.

There is a considerable literature which expounds the relationship between ideology, social structure, and

advantage or disadvantage, in regard to education, and considerable agreement that

A young person's educational attainment is largely a function of parent's socio-occupational status and educational level, family per capita income, and place of residence...Much of the influence of these background variables on attainment is exerted through several intervening variables - most notably parental encouragement, the child's academic performance, the type of school attended, and the subject's educational and occupational aspirations (Dobson, 1977: 257).

These observations are made with reference to the USSR, but there is evidence that they are universally valid; indeed, as Simmons and Alexander argue, the determinants of student achievement appear to be substantially the same for both developing and developed countries (Simmons and Alexander, 1980: 93). It is the contention of Simmons (1980) that schooling variables represent later influences on the child, the effects of which are mediated by the primary, early influences, of which there are three broad categories: the individual (health, personality and intelligence), the family (income, housing, child-rearing behaviour, occupational status) and the non-family environment (production mode, rural and urban location, peer group interaction, and the effect of moral and legal sanctions) (Simmons, 1980: 63). Thus an educational system is viewed as inherently conservative, not only in its propagation of dominant values and structures, but also because

...schools are probably more effective when they attempt to complement and reinforce rather than oppose the socialization processes of home and neighbourhood (Bowles, 1977: 147) (cf. also Prewitt and Oculi, 1971).

In Foster's words, schools are clumsy instruments for bringing about social changes (Foster, 1977: 357; cf. also Thurow, 1977). Ideology in the educational system functions not only through the dominant values which are taught through curricula, syllabi and the persona of teachers - "the knowledge that gets into our schools is already a choice from a much wider universe of possible social knowledge and principles" (Apple, 1979: 8) - but also through the primary, causal variables as outlined above, the quality and degree (or absence) of which are in large measure functions of social control and allocation.

There is also an extensive literature on the manner in which developing countries, many in the first phase of independence during the 1960's, chose to invest large proportions of their national budgets in formal education, in the expectation of gaining quick economic and other social rewards. This investment was undertaken largely in the interests of development, defined by Todaro as "the redistribution or elimination of poverty, inequality and unemployment in the context of a growing economy" (Todaro, 1981: 68). It is also widely accepted that development itself is one, pronounced aspect of the paradigm of modernisation, of which other significant features are rationality, growth, centralisation, and increasing integration of formerly disparate systems and functions (Berger, 1976; cf. also Thompson, 1981).

The literature also documents the increasing scepticism about the ability of the educational endeavour to produce the expected benefits. There are many explanations for this perceived failure. Amongst the most pervasive are those which note the universal importance of primary

background variables in educational success, as above: factors which are often particularly prominent in their negative or deprived manifestations in developing countries, where poverty, malnutrition and inadequate infrastructures are all too common. Another major cause which is cited is, in Dore's words, that it is easier to build a modern school system than to build a modern society, and that schooling in developing countries is often socialization into modern sector life, in imitation of colonial and Western patterns, which only a small minority can enjoy (Dore, 1980). In this, education functions directly as an instrument of advantage for the elite, who not only command access to the restricted modern sector but also enjoy ever-increasing per capita proportions of public expenditure as their advantaged children progress through the secondary and tertiary systems. Another major area of criticism concerns the quality of the education which is offered, the contention being that provision is frequently pro forma with very little meaningful substance. Hawes notes that in many systems nearly all the expenditure is devoted to salaries - a situation not unknown in Namibia -

...in which case it is worth asking whether the whole costly mechanism of providing school education has not come to an unprofitable full-stop just before the only point where it can be productive - enabling children to learn. For a child without reading books cannot learn to read adequately, and I have met many children without reading books and many who could not read (Hawes, 1979: 21).

One is reminded of Murray's comment, made in 1929 as an observation on the African colonial school system: "The educational theory was to the effect that in order to teach you need only be a little way ahead of your pupils"

(Murray, 1929: 92). This situation remains true in many developing countries, and is relatively common in Namibia.

On the other hand, while it is true that formal education is, viewed broadly, a clumsy and slow instrument for effecting rapid social change, there is evidence that it has had profound socialization effects on generations of Africans in the pre-independence or pre-liberation era. In

The new African, Couzens (1987) shows the effect of quality mission schooling on Africans in South Africa between 1910 and 1950. It was the products of this endeavour who, fraternising across tribal and linguistic barriers, produced Africa-centred literature, developed the consciousnesses of the less educated via their extensive journalistic activities, undertook the first research by black people into authentic African roots and traditions, and united to form the African National Congress, the A.N.C. Youth League, and the Pan-African Congress, all in opposition to apartheid and to white minority rule. A similar picture, if far less extensive, may be given for Namibia. Not least among the acquisitions of such people was language: a language of access to world history, wide culture and universal knowledge, a common language to transcend ethnic divisions, a language in which to meet their oppressors on equal conceptual and linguistic terms, and a language fully developed to carry the weight of advocacy of political and cultural emancipation in a new dispensation.

This is not the point at which to discuss language policies in education, to which later, successive chapters of this work are devoted. It may, however, be noted briefly that as with broad educational policies, so the languages selected as mediums of instruction and as school subjects,

and the manner and timing of their introduction, in the first place reflect political choices:

...language decisions are primarily made on political and economic grounds, reflecting the values of those in political power (Paulston, 1985:2).

While policy-makers will always set the overall goals according to their priorities, if policy is sensitive to the complexities of the educational situation - a condition often observed more in the breach thereof - considerable latitude will be allowed to planners and implementers in respect of the means by which overall goals are attained. At this operational level, planning should be informed by the understanding that language in education is an independent, mediating and dependent variable:

The social and linguistic conditions of the child before starting school (minority/majority, high/low status mother tongue, etc.) will determine the child's linguistic level in each language when she starts school. These abilities should be treated as a causal variable in the choice of a suitable educational programme. L1 and L2 abilities should secondly be treated as process variables because they mediate the child's experience at school and determine academic outcome. At the end of the school year, L1 and L2 abilities should thirdly be treated as dependent variables... (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981: 246)

There are, in addition, certain technical and infrastructural factors which must be assessed. Primarily, however, "Bilingual education is not merely a linguistic issue" (Edwards, 1984: 300), a situation which has given rise to the important role that language

has always played in educational policies in Namibia, and to the high public profile which these policies have had during the 1980's, in particular.

The remainder of this chapter provides a brief review of education in Namibia during the period of South African control, with particular focus on the central areas of Namibia, in which the research which forms the basis of my study was conducted. The concluding section of the chapter reviews major proposals on educational reform in Namibia which have been published during the 1980's. While an account of educational history and current practices is intrinsically necessary as a framework within which the research can be placed, particular attention will be given to the ideological and sociopolitical theorising which have pre-eminently informed the provision of education, and which have strongly underlain the historical and present conflicts in this area of social policy. It will be shown, by implication in this chapter, and explicitly in later parts of this work, that language in education in the present Namibian context

...belongs to those things which in the course of time have somehow, somewhere, become problematic and therefore invited conscious reflections (Mannheim, 1952: 299).

3.2 Education in the pre-Mandate period: a short note

As in many African territories, formal education was introduced into South West Africa in the early 1800's by European missionaries. Heese (1980) has provided a comprehensive chronicle of missionary education between 1806 and 1870 and shows that the London Missionary

Society and the Wesleyans were initially most active in the south amongst the Nama and Oorlam groups, with their activities gradually spreading into the central areas to encompass the Herero people. However, the work in the south and central areas is overwhelmingly associated with the later, larger endeavours of the German Rhenish Mission, just as the work in the northern areas is associated with the Finnish Lutheran Mission. The work of these two bodies, whose involvement began in the 1840's and 1870's respectively, has given rise to the Lutheran affiliations of the great majority of the inhabitants as well as to the large, indigenized Lutheran churches referred to in the second chapter.

The European missionaries were not primarily concerned with formal education, which they offered merely to achieve literacy and to attract prospective converts into settled communities. Heese's account of the work of one Rhenish missionary provides insight into motives which were typical of the period:

...missionary Schroder said, during the late sixties (i.e. 1860's) that he regarded schooling as of greater importance than preaching in beginning missionary work, because in his opinion education was the surest means of initially reaching parents, through their children, with the Gospel message (Heese, 1980: 198) (translated from Afrikaans).

Similar motives and procedures of 19th century European missionaries have long been acknowledged and frequently analysed, as have their effects on indigenous populations. (On Namibia, cf. De Vries, 1978.)

Successive South African governments chose to allow

almost all "non-white" education to remain under mission control during the period 1920-1960. This was also the practice of the previous German colonial administration, who, while actively developing schooling for white children, made little provision for other groups besides allowing small subsidies, and ruling that the German language should be taught. In 1902, for instance, the colonial authorities allocated 15000 marks to the education of white children, while the Rhenish and Catholic missions received 1590 and 450 marks respectively (Noble: 1977: 55-56). During the German colonial period, the northern areas of Owamboland and Kavango fell outside the area of administrative control, beyond the so-called "Police Zone". In these areas the history of formal education can be traced back to 1870, when the Finnish Lutheran missionaries began their activities. Totemeyer records the imperfections of the system but states that education was largely instrumental in transforming social order and values:

...education became the most important instrument for change within the old order, altering outlooks and helping to create new economic and political structures (Totemeyer, 1978: 172).

Elsewhere, he documents the effects of the Lutheran mission in Owambo: the inception of a large, indigenized church; literacy and printing; the basis of a modern health service; enhanced status for women; and the development of broadly modernizing attitudes, away from traditional leadership and tribal particularism (ibid.: 20-21). Significant as these influences were in forming and changing social practices, there was, however, a limit to what missionary and church initiatives could do, particularly

in the face of the scanty finances provided by the state. Even today, the literacy rate is low, health services are inadequate, and the road and communications systems are quite primitive in most northern areas.

3.3 The early South African period: 1921 to Bantu Education

After the conquest of German South West Africa by South African troops in 1915, the territory was administered by military government until 1921, when civilian administration was restored. It was treated as an integral portion of the Union of South Africa, in terms of Article 2 of the League of Nations Mandate. By proclamation, full legislative and executive powers within the territory resided in the Administrator, who was responsible to the Governor-General of South Africa.

Proclamation 55 of 1921 decreed that control of all schools for "non-European" people would rest in the church or mission authority responsible for establishing the respective schools; the costs of books, salaries and equipment in primary education would be provided by the Administration of South West Africa through its Department of Education. However, Proclamation 16 of 1926 rescinded the clause providing for free books and stationery; it classified all "non-European" schools as either "native" or "coloured", and allowed for the remuneration of teachers employed for classes up to Standard 6 (eighth year). Higher classes could only be instituted with the approval of the Director of Education, and only two-thirds of the salaries of teachers for such classes would be paid by the Department. In fact, however, in 1923 a conference of

Mission and departmental representatives had decided that "Non-European" education should not proceed beyond Standard 2 (fourth year); it was only in 1933 that a fifth year, Standard 3, was instituted in some schools. It was at this conference that it was agreed that mother tongue medium would be employed for the first three school years, followed by Afrikaans medium.

At this point, a diagram is useful to set out the ordering of school years, which has pertained since the inception of South African control:

<i>School Phase</i>	<i>School years</i>	<i>Grades</i>
<i>Junior Primary</i>	<i>One</i>	<i>Sub-Standard A</i>
	<i>Two</i>	<i>Sub-Standard B</i>
	<i>Three</i>	<i>Standard 1</i>
<i>Senior Primary</i>	<i>Four</i>	<i>Standard Two</i>
	<i>Five</i>	<i>Standard Three</i>
	<i>Six</i>	<i>Standard Four</i>
<i>Secondary (or High School)</i>	<i>Seven to Twelve</i>	<i>Standards Five to Ten</i>

The education of the non-Europeans, by agreement, remained under control of the mission churches, as it had during the German colonial period. The Administration of South West Africa did not erect or maintain buildings, nor concern itself with planning and

identifying needs. These onerous tasks were left to the missions, always short of funds and trained manpower, and to the even worse-equipped local communities. Correspondence between the Director of Education and the Chief Native Commissioner in 1949 provides insights into how the system worked in practice. In a letter dated 12 August 1949, in response to certain representations made by residents of the Tses and Berseba Reserves, the Director stated:

If the coloured community desire a coloured school, sponsored by the Rhenish Mission Society, they should approach with a request to lay their case before the Education Department. Before the Department could consider establishing a coloured school the Rhenish Mission would have to guarantee a suitable building and a regular attendance of at least 20 pupils. To enable the Director to determine whether the educational needs of the locality call for such a school, a list of parents, and children over seven years (of age), stating in the latter case the school Standards attained, would also have to be submitted (Archive file E742, Volume 2).

The procedure outlined above was sufficiently cumbersome to deter all but the most determined, and placed a heavy burden on a generally poor and illiterate community. It was policy not to employ teachers from outside the borders of South West Africa because of the practice of teaching the lower classes through the mediums of the local vernaculars, and because of "the generally acknowledged principle of preserving tribal life amongst natives..." (U.G.20, 1939: 16). In pursuance of this aim, mother tongue medium was a cardinal facet of policy. The rejection of this today, and the demand for one nation-wide language medium in education, which will

promote modernising goals, is the direct result of decades of ethnically-fragmented education. Nothing was done to improve this state of affairs; in 1947 the Director of Education gave his opinion of local teachers in a letter to the Secretary for South West Africa, stating that

Many of the teachers are not properly able to understand a letter which is addressed to them regarding (pension) matters. Because of their poor training, their physical weakness, their moral shortcomings, their inborn sluggishness and their virtually sterile social heritage and environment their period of service is, comparatively speaking, rather short... (Archive file EDU 742, Volume 2) (translated from Afrikaans).

The indigenous inhabitants of the south and central areas of South West Africa, mainly the Nama and Herero groups, had suffered most from suppression by the German authorities, and from disillusionment and further legal restraints when alienated land was not returned to them by South Africa, but instead given over to use by white settlers. These Namas and Hereros had, to a great extent, become strangers in their own country. It is thus not surprising that there was resistance to the practices and institutions of the colonial authorities particularly when, as was the case with education, there was a close relationship with the mission churches towards which attitudes were ambivalent.

Although the Director of Education's report for 1925 stated simply "The Hereros do not believe in education" (U.G. 26, 1926: 31) the report for 1934 suggested that non-collaborationist opinion was losing ground. The

Organizing Inspector for Native Education is quoted thus in the report of that year:

There is further the pronounced aversion of the Hereros to all institutions of a European Administration. Many Hereros maintain that the real aim of the school is to train the young people to be good servants for the Europeans...Others are not opposed to schools on principle. They realize that the Herero youth, if it receives no education, will be at a disadvantage...They demand for their children the same education as that given in the European schools (U.G. 27, 1934: 43).

During the 1930's, the Director's reports and education files contain a number of references to representations by various Herero groups who requested government-run schools, schooling to higher levels, and even compulsory education. In 1932 the Director received a deputation which expressed dissatisfaction with existing schools, asked for teaching of the Herero language to be discontinued and for English, German and Afrikaans to be instituted, and requested opportunities for pupils to proceed through to Standard 6 (eighth year) instead of terminating in Standard 2 (U.G.27, 1934: 36). In the following year, the Administrator had talks with the inhabitants of the Aminuis Reserve, and reported that he had rejected the possibility of establishing government-run schools: "I cannot tax the Europeans to provide schools for the Natives" (U.G. 27, 1934:36). Nevertheless, sections of the Herero people continued to press for government-provided schools instead of mission institutions.

These representations by the Herero people did partly succeed; by 1947 there were six "native government schools", all in Herero reserves in the central areas. That the people of the south were not so fortunate is shown in an excerpt from the minutes of a meeting held in Hoachanas Reserve, on 13 May 1949, with the Chief Native Commissioner present. The minutes record that one of the speakers said, "After one hundred and four years we still do not have the opportunity of proceeding further at school - to give our young people learning... We desire that the Government should take over the school" (**Archive file EDU E742, Volume 2**) (translated from Afrikaans). The same request was repeated at a meeting of the Non-European Advisory Board held in Windhoek on 20 July 1949: "We have asked for many years that our schools should come under Government control. Up to now we have no satisfactory answer... We have no power under the Mission schools" (ibid.). However, the attitudes displayed by the Department were in marked opposition to those which informed the provision of the well-facilitated educational system for white pupils. Inferior education not only assisted in maintaining the majority of the population in a position of servitude, but also specifically prevented the disenfranchised from acquiring the conceptual and linguistic skills with which to define their situation, and by which they could enter into equal dialogue with the colonial masters.

The extent of the disparity between the two systems is evident from comparisons of figures for pupil enrolment in 1949, and for educational spending in 1947-1949. The first table, pupil enrolment, provides figures for the northern and southern inspectorial circuits of the

central/southern area of South West Africa. At that time the northern areas (Owambo and Kavango) were minimally funded by the Administration, and enrolment returns were submitted directly by the various missions. (See Tables 1 and 2 at the end of the chapter.) As Table 1 shows, almost three-quarters of black pupils were to be found in the first two school years, as against one-quarter of white pupils. The total number of children in each group at school was about equal, in spite of the much larger proportion of the population represented by the black pupils. Table 2 shows that spending per capita was about five and a half times higher for white pupils.

The reluctance of some sections of the Herero community to enrol their children in schools was informed by the belief that education of the type provided was designed to fit black people to be no more than servants and labourers. This theme is widely encountered in colonial education, especially in the immediate post-conquest period. In South West Africa during the 1930's, it has been shown that in the central areas resistance to education was reversed, and replaced by demands for the same facilities and opportunities which were enjoyed by the children of the colonial masters, namely compulsory education, government schools, better funding, and education to higher levels. From the 1930's onward there was a growing belief that more, better and equal education would not only assist black people to redress the imbalance, but also to enter the mainstream of the modern sector. That this was a relatively common occurrence in colonial education is shown by the observation of the much-travelled African Education Commission, that

...some educated Natives have been
opposed to any departure from the
existing conventionalized school

system...Past experience has convinced some of the educated Natives that departures from the white man's methods have frequently meant an inferior provision for black pupils" (African Education Commission, 1922: 17) (cf. also Murray, 1929).

Many black people would undoubtedly have echoed the sentiments of the eminent black South African educationist, G.M'Timkulu, who during the 1950's articulated aspirations in a very similar setting of deprivation and inequality as follows: black people wanted "integration into the democratic structure and institutions of the country...(believing that) one of the most effective ways of achieving this is by education - an education essentially no different from, or inferior to, that of other sections of the community" (Horrel, 1968: 6). These were reformist views which were characteristic of the first phase of black resistance, in Namibia as in South Africa, the aspirations of which, having been denied, have led to armed conflict and to demands for full transfer of power to the majority. In their advocacy of more and better education as the path towards obtaining greater involvement and influence in the modern sector and in government, black people gravely underestimated the depth and power of colonial acquisitiveness, racism and the corruptions of minority privilege. The close association of most educated black people with the missions, for the most part staffed by hard-working and good-willed people who implicitly accepted the system and yet by their presence ameliorated its effects, for a long period prevented the products of mission education from fully understanding the system by which they were manipulated. The authorities themselves understood and articulated their goals clearly; they sought to observe "the generally acknowledged principle

of preserving tribal life amongst natives" (U.G. 20, 1939: 16). Indeed, as early as 1925, the Administrator of South West Africa had written that

...the policy of the Education Department is to make the native develop step by step. It tries to check rigorously any attempt to make the native show as much progress in one generation as other nations showed only after three or four centuries of steady development (U.G. 26, 1926: 111-112).

In the same report, the Director of Education succinctly expressed the ideology of racial superiority which his department endorsed when he criticised the "wrong lines" pursued in mission education in South Africa which had produced the result that "these natives today have the outlook on life and the ideals of Europeans and it has become necessary, in order to safeguard our own social system, to resort to legislation, e.g. the recent Colour-Bar Bill" (ibid.: 56).

This section will be concluded with a short note on the northern areas, which strictly fall outside the scope of this research. The majority of the population of Namibia, sixty-five percent or more, live in the northern areas of Owambo, Kavango and the Caprivi. Under both the German and South African administrations, until the 1960's, these areas were placed outside the "Police Zone", i.e. beyond direct administrative control. Before 1915, the major contact with the central and southern areas of South West Africa was via migrant labourers, who moved south for short terms on contracts. This system had been initiated by the German colonial authorities as early as 1891 (Totemeyer, 1978: 159), and by 1975 over

forty thousand Owambo men at any one time were working on contract as unskilled labour (ibid.: 156). The South African authorities expanded and refined the system, content to exploit the sources of cheap labour while maintaining a minimum government presence in the north. Goldblatt describes the situation:

While the Natives within the Police Zone...were under the direct control of the Administrator, the tribes outside this zone were kept in order by the moral influence of three men appointed by the Administrator - Major Hahn, as the Resident Commissioner, and two assistants (Goldblatt, 1971: 214).

That this influence was on occasion more than merely moral is shown by the fact that the direct military intervention of the Administration led to the Owambo chiefs, Mandume and Ipumbu, being deposed in 1922 and 1932 respectively, to be replaced by headmen.

Education on the Western pattern was introduced into Owambo and Kavango by the Finnish Lutheran missionaries, whose first contact with the region was in 1870. They built up the school system almost without subsidy from the South West African Administration until the early 1960's, and their curricula and syllabi were largely independent of those used in the Police Zone. The first attempt by the Administration to bring about some uniformity was taken in 1945, when an Organiser for Native Education was appointed for the northern areas. This person was initially based in Grootfontein, well to the south of Owambo, which was then accessible only with difficulty. A letter of 7 August 1945 from the recently-appointed Organiser for Native Education claimed that standards were

so low that two years' school work in Owambo should be regarded as the equivalent of one year's elsewhere in native schools (**Archive file EDU 742**, Volume 2).

Thus the northern areas, Owambo and Kavango, had a history which was largely separate from that of the rest of the country, until the 1960's when "homeland governments" were established. They remained almost untouched by successive colonial regimes, with the church as the major agent of modernisation for nearly a century. Entry to and from the area was restricted, except for the movement of labourers on contract, and the entry of a few officials and missionaries. Education, too, was a separate endeavour, almost completely self-supporting and self-administering, with its own curricula and syllabi, staffed by missionaries and local teachers who had little or no contact with the central areas of South West Africa. It is no exaggeration to say that neither English nor Afrikaans have significant histories of effective use of much more than one generation, in the northern areas where over sixty percent of the population of Namibia reside. Although contract labourers frequently learned Afrikaans, the language had little practical usefulness when they returned to the indigenous situation, which was linguistically homogenous.

3.4 Bantu Education to the present

In South Africa the Bantu Education Act of 1953 marked a departure point in black education, the reverberations of which are still felt very strongly today. Essentially, the Act sought to impose a specific, highly particularistic ideological view on all black South Africans via a comprehensive take-over of all educational

activities. The very extensive church involvement in black schooling, a historical enterprise going back to the early nineteenth century, was conclusively ended by the simple expedient of cutting off all state subsidies. The churches had come to have a growing dependence on these subsidies, to such an extent that by the 1950's about fifty percent of the budgets of their extensive educational activities were government-funded. They were unable to rally against the conclusive and sudden onslaught on their operations which the Bantu Education Act represented, and within three years the vast majority had been forced to hand their schools over to the state, in order to safeguard the interests of pupils and staff (Horrell, 1968: 12). Subsequent acts of state ensured the almost complete control of black education, including adult, vocational and technical education, and the university sphere passed into government hands. All this was accomplished in South Africa between 1953 and 1960. To a significant extent, Bantu Education retained the familiar goals and operations which, as outlined above, had long characterised white-controlled education for black people. The development of non-white people within their own defined cultural milieus was emphasised; separate curricula, syllabi and facilities were developed and provided under a separate department, which supervised its own examinations and ordered its own system of teacher training.

In 1958 the Commission of Enquiry into Non-White Education in South West Africa was constituted, under chairmanship of the first Secretary of Bantu Education in South Africa (cf. Administration of South West Africa, 1958). The Commission was expressly directed to investigate the extent to which the South African system of non-white

education could serve as a foundation for the formulation of educational systems for non-whites in South West Africa; it was thus an attempt to apply Bantu Education, and a separate system for coloured people, to the territory. Its first term of reference was to

Formulate an effective educational system for the Native and Coloured communities of S.W.A., as two separate and independent racial groups, taking into account the historical development of both groups, their various particular characteristics... (ibid.:1) (translated from Afrikaans).

The conservative and ethnically particularistic approach of the Commission is, for instance, revealed in its comment that educational policy should not "estrangle the youth from their natural community " (ibid.: 4) (translated). The term "natural" is highly significant, it being a primary tenet of Christian Nationalism that each ethnic group has a divinely-ordained nature and calling, which must be fostered and maintained by the educational system, amongst other political means.

The Commission praised the attitudes of "native parents, tribal councils and captains" who, it was claimed, were enamoured of the opportunity of being "baas" (master) in their own schools; but it deplored the views of "a large number of teachers, including those representing the Teachers' Union":

...(they) were not imbued with the ideal of preserving and developing their own individuality as peoples ("volkseie"). Their recommendation was, on the contrary, that there was no need for the development of the mother tongue as school subject. This

attitude is not to be found amongst parents, less developed natives and tribal councils, and the logical conclusion is that the "intellegentsia" have lost their way at school and in their training as teachers (ibid.: 78) (translated).

Thus the Commission, composed entirely of white educationists, set itself against the progressive and modernising elements within the black community. In its conclusion that they had "lost their way", the Commission clearly indicated its identification with another basic principle of Christian Nationalism, namely, that direction and guardianship should be exercised over those who are less enlightened in respect of the correct cultural and social principles. The ideological foundations of the 1958 Commission of Enquiry into Non-white Education in South West Africa are clear, and lucidly expressed, revealing the confidence of those who act on the basis of right principles.

In view of the theme of my study, it is useful at this point to note that the Commission made lengthy recommendations on language policies in the schools, deploring the attitudes of the teachers (above), proposing urgent steps to bolster the position of the mother tongues as mediums of instruction and as school subjects, and motivating the (continued) employment of Afrikaans as medium from the beginning of the higher primary school phase, because it was the dominant language of the politically dominant white minority.

The recommendations of the Commission were at first only partially implemented. Ordinance 19 of 1960 proclaimed that the Director of Education could institute managing

bodies for Government Native Schools, and that "defined mission schools for Native pupils may be taken over as Government Native Schools", thus more cautiously implementing this aspect of Bantu Education than in South Africa, where almost all mission control was abolished by 1955. The more comprehensive ordinance 27 of 1962 provided that the Administration could establish and maintain Native Schools and that no church authority could establish, continue or maintain any Native School unless it was registered with the Department of Education. It was, in fact, only in 1968 that Bantu Education was fully implemented in South West Africa when the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development of South Africa assumed full responsibility for "Bantu Affairs" in the territory, and control passed from the Administration to the Department of Bantu Education of South Africa. This was effected in terms of Act 39 of 1968 (South West Africa Constitution Act 1968).

The philosophy on which South African education - and, hence, that in Namibia - has been based since 1948 is that of Christian Nationalism. Christian National Education was not an essential departure from the former ruling philosophy, that of maintaining and strengthening white power and privilege by political and economic hegemony; rather, Christian Nationalism is a formalised and sophisticated attempt, in the words of Thompson's definition of ideology, to "sustain relations of domination" by further "legitimising, dissimulating (concealing dominant interests) and reifying existing patterns of social discrimination and advantage" (Thompson, 1984: 131)

The main ideological strands of Christian Nationalism may

conveniently be summarised here: the belief that God's highest creation in the human sphere is "the nation" and that Man's highest spiritual calling is service to the nation; the concept of "the nation" ("volk") as a static and permanently enduring entity; the rejection of notions of individual freedom and inviolable rights because highest freedom is found in service to the nation (Diederichs, 1936: 53); the definition of the "volk" as white and Afrikaner, with a higher calling to guardianship over non-whites (Meyer, 1941: 76); and the establishment of apartheid or separate development as the political means to allow various co-existing "nations" to realise their separate callings and identities. As L.Thompson shows, the emphasis has shifted with the acquisition of political power, and "the racist theme in the Afrikaner mythology has been far more tenacious than elsewhere, largely for reasons of political arithmetic" (Thompson, 1985: 28). Nevertheless, it is simplistic and inadequate to believe, as some observers seem to, that the "reformism" of the 1980's has produced a situation in which all that remains of the Afrikaner Nationalist ideology are certain visible apartheid structures, such as the Group Areas Act and separate parliamentary chambers. The ideology of the divinely-established "volk", exercising and accruing to itself its God-given sovereignty, remains the irreducible guiding motive.

Christian National educationists stress the autonomy of educational systems within their own spheres of activity: "a school is essentially an institution with sovereignty within its own sphere" (Van Schalkwyk, 1982: 88); "education has its own autonomy" (Pienaar, 1983: vi) (both translated from Afrikaans). It is often difficult to discover exactly what is, and is not, embraced within

the autonomy of the educational system, particularly as Christian National educational philosophy has been developed within, and acknowledges, the context of provision by the state. In Stone's opinion, the state has co-responsibility, along with the other social institutions, to ensure: the provision and maintenance of facilities and services; the maintenance of educational standards via an inspectorate; differentiated education to develop various types of abilities and to provide for social and economic needs; compulsory education, where possible; the definition of basic motifs (e.g. Christian education where the population is of that religious persuasion); protection against "immoral, blasphemous or state-endangering elements" within the educational system; and mother tongue education (Stone, 1974: 85-86). By implication, the educational system is thus autonomous in respect of factors such as curricula and syllabi, appointment of staff, discipline, methods and other procedures, and delineation of specific strategies and goals. Van Schalkwyk states explicitly that it is the duty of the state to give strong support to, but not to dominate, education and that the civil authorities may not "teach or determine what educational content and methods should be employed" (Van Schalkwyk, 1982: 118). These words of Van Schalkwyk indicate the extent of the existing hegemony, exercised through legitimisation and dissimulation, which is experienced in discourse on education. In South Africa and in Namibia, the majority of policy-making positions are held by Broederbonders, who are sworn upon induction to membership to observe these conditions, amongst others:

It will be expected of you that you will do all in your power to establish and promote a common purpose among all motivated Afrikaners, to strengthen and

develop the Afrikaner nation, and in particular to promote its culture and extend its role in the in the national economy (Wilkins and Strydom, 1978: 237).

A second characterisitic of Christian National Education philosophy is that it seeks to define the "normative" bases of education. Stone defines these as: differentiation, integration and continuity. The former refers to different characteristics evinced by educational systems, such as levels of development, degrees of control by higher bodies, integration with other aspects of community life, and the dominant normative ideals which inform the system (Stone, 1974: 145-146). The second normative basis refers to the characteristic integration of the school with the "complex of norms" which dominate other, related social institutions, such as church or family; the school attempts to develop patterns of integration within which relatively peaceful co-existence is possible (ibid.: 146-147). The third normative principle, continuity, attests the need for the school to keep pace with the cultural development of the society which it serves (ibid.: 149-150.)

The continuity norm is the subject of extensive exposition by Christian National educationists. There is general agreement that "continuity" dictates that the chief purpose of education is to convey cultural values to the pupils, and that these values are reflected within specific group and historical settings. Accordingly, the concept of "culture" is investigated with great thoroughness. It is conventionally defined in terms of "volk", as embodied in broad Christian National thought. Louw, for instance, says that culture includes not only

spiritual and material activities, but also "the creative activities of a specific community with a specific view of life, grounded and anchored in a belief in the Absolute or God". It entails belonging to one group ("volk"), and having in common, "language, history, traditions, destiny and race" (Louw, 1983: 8-10) (translated from Afrikaans). The latter element, race, is now de-emphasised by some writers; for instance, Harmse denies that there is an inherent connection between population groups and race, and is critical of the South African policy of classifying people in "population groups" on the basis of race or skin-colour (Harmse, 1982: 169-170). Not all would agree in every respect with Louw, whose peculiarly static view of "culture" demands that "It is absolutely necessary that all staff members of a school should belong to the same group ("volk"), race and culture as the pupils" (Louw, 1983: 120) (translated from Afrikaans). However, there is full agreement that education has a prime task to convey ("oordra") cultural values, and that the various cultural levels and normative bases found within the area of state control postulate different educational systems, or at least a large degree of homogeneity within particular schools. Van Schalkwyk explicitly distinguishes between the degrees of progress which various cultural groups in South Africa have made towards "educationally normative actualisation":

The Black man, for instance, knows **Authority** well, but he will have to be taught gradually that it can never be separated from responsibility, obedience and love. He knows what **power** is, but will have to be taught that in its true nature it is qualified by justice. He has an **awareness of a god** but will have to

be taught gradually who the true God is...The Black man knows very well what it is to make sacrifices, but he will have to be taught in a very special way that true reconciliation with God does not consist in bringing him all manner of gifts, but in a personal surrender to God, in loving Him truly and sincerely and serving Him with his whole being (Van Schalkwyk, 1982: 231).

Although it is not specifically stated who will perform the teaching and leadership roles referred to, in the context in which it is written the quotation reflects the principle of white "guardianship" over non-whites which was enunciated, for instance, by P.J.Meyer and N.Diederichs in 1941, and elsewhere by ideologues of Christian Nationalism (Coetzee, Meyer and Diederichs, 1941).

In summary, Christian National Education is a direct reflection of the ideological principles which have guided Afrikaner Nationalism, and which have maintained it in power in the face of increasing resistance by the majority of the populations of South Africa and Namibia. An analysis of Christian National Education supports Apple's contention that schools are "one of the main agencies of distributing an effective dominant culture...they help create people who see no other serious possibility to the economic and cultural assemblage now extant" (Apple, 1979: 6). This is true of the effects of the educational system for white children, and specifically for the Afrikaans-language portion of the system; but the same educational ideology has, increasingly, been rejected on a massive scale by people of other groups (cf. South African Institute of Race Relations, 1978; Ellis, 1984; Thompson, 1985). Dunsire's words, written in the context of general implementation analysis, may be applied here: the

experience of Christian National Education in the case of the majority of the population has been "that the output which is actually produced is not that which was envisaged" (Dunsire, 1978: 118). The resulting disillusionment, frustrations, alienations and "critical social condition" (Larson, 1980: 1) are as predicted by scholars, where policy does not adequately consider the conditions in which it will be implemented (cf. Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973; Williams, 1975; Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979a,b).

During the 1960's and 1970's, duplicating the separate development model in South Africa, "homeland" authorities were established for all the black groups in Namibia. Summarising the position up to 1977, a situation which has not altered fundamentally since then, Totemeyer wrote:

The general political aim of the South African Government was to apply her policy of separate development to South West Africa. The principle underlying this policy is to allow various ethnic groupings to develop separately as far as possible, and to do so in separate geo-political units based on accepted or assumed cultural, political, socio-economic, and ethnic differences (Totemeyer, 1977: 15).

Until 1979, Bantu Education was administered centrally via a regional office in Windhoek, and through secretariats in each of the homeland administrations. With the proclamation of law A.G.8 in 1979, however, the provision of education "to members of the particular population group" was directly transferred to each representative authority (ethnic government), excluding control over curricula, syllabi, examinations and the issue of certificates. These matters are controlled by the Department of National Education in Windhoek, which

stands under direct authority of the South African-appointed Administrator-General or, by delegation, under the National Assembly, when such a body functions. The Department of National Education also administers the direct provision of education for black people who reside outside of the "homelands", that is, in the districts of the central area of Namibia. It is these teachers and schools, under the department of National Education, which are the subjects of the survey research which forms part of this study.

3.5 Proposals for educational reform in Namibia, and underlying philosophies.

In 1982 and 1983 the five volumes of the report **Onderzoek na die onderwys in S.W.A./Namibie** ("Investigation into education") were published by the Advieskomitee vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing (AGN) which had undertaken its work at the request of the Department of National Education in Windhoek. This major report was commissioned to recommend more effective educational provisions within the system of ethnic control; nevertheless, one of its conclusions was that conditions under apartheid law A.G.8 (see above) "create one of the most difficult situations imaginable" (AGN, Volume 5, 1983: 5). It is significant that representatives of black ethnic authorities - Wambo, Kavango, Herero and Caprivi - exercised their autonomy under A.G.8 by declining invitations to participate in the AGN enquiry.

The AGN reports provided a large amount of valuable data, for the first time bringing together in one place much that previously had to be extracted from a multitude of

reports and publications, if available at all. In general, the AGN was concerned to demonstrate the inefficiencies in the provision of education in Namibia, in terms of criteria such as pupil through-flow and dropout, poor teacher qualifications, inadequate teacher training facilities, discrepant rates of educational spending by authority and population group, differential teacher:pupil ratios, and backlogs in the provision of facilities and educational materials. The historical and existing deficiencies and inefficiencies of Namibian education were laid bare in a comprehensive manner in the AGN report, in respect of technical and administrative provisions. As can be expected, the report was concerned to recommend ways and means of rectifying the deficiencies which it had chosen to identify, with reference to managerial and financial improvements.

Amongst the major recommendations of the AGN report is the proposal that there should be stronger central control, via the National Education Council, which should effect government policy as formulated at central level, and should monitor implementation. A wide range of services is proposed, to be administered by the Department of National Education in support of ethnic ("second-tier") authorities (Volume 5: 133-134). Although the AGN report was critical of the current system of ethnic control (see above), it remained ambiguously true to its terms of reference by stating "Each representative authority has the right, capacity and responsibility to exercise maximum control over its own education and training" (Volume 5: 5). The implication is thus that the commission was not critical of the ideology underlying law A.G.8, but rather of the technical problems encountered in implementing the

system. In this the AGN report is similar to the De Lange Commission Report into education in South Africa, conducted during the early 1980's and also co-ordinated by the Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa. Kallaway correctly criticised that report in these terms:

(The weaknesses) stem from its fundamentally reformist bias which explains why it fails to take into consideration fundamental political and economic issues. It also explains the failure of the Report to make any significant impact on the problems it sets out to remedy. The apolitical veneer of the Report masks its highly ideological nature. The consensus reached reflected the narrowness of the spectrum of opinion represented on the commission (Kallaway, 1984: 33-34).

These criticisms can be levelled at the AGN report with equal validity; indeed, it attempts to make a distinction between "sound educational principles" and political direction when it advises that "It will be disastrous if education is used to advance ideologies which are at variance with the generally accepted philosophy of education..." (Volume 5: 85). The authors of this statement ignored the ironic fact that they were operating within the terms of reference of ethnically separate education, the direct descendant of Bantu Education, which was developed to ensure Afrikaner and white political supremacy. On the key question of the definition of the "accepted philosophy of education", the AGN report is silent.

In the event, the AGN investigation remains an academic exercise, as none of its major recommendations were implemented. Centralisation, and co-ordination of

planning and educational provision, remain impossible in the face of the South African government's steadfast refusal to amend or abolish law A.G.8, which places major functions under ethnic authorities. Within three years, a second comprehensive attempt to bring about centralisation was made by local government departments and the newly-appointed Transitional Government (Government of National Unity), an unlikely coalition of minor, ethnically-representative parties which are opposed to SWAPO and to the implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978, which propounds ways and means of attaining internationally-recognized independence for Namibia. The report **Recommendations for a national education policy objectives and strategies** (Education Committee, 1985) was the product of one of the first commissions to be appointed by the new Transitional Government and the priority given to education is indicated by the fact that the committee was allowed less than three months to complete its work. Its terms of reference were to submit recommendations concerning (i) national education goals, and (ii) strategies to carry out the policy. The committee was thus allowed considerably more freedom than was the case with the AGN enquiry. The majority of members were appointed ex officio as representatives of the various ethnic educational authorities. The Committee formulated fifteen national goals for education, of which the majority are technical, dealing with matters such as improved management, a minimum level of education for all, enhanced quality of teachers, improved support services and facilities, and "fair and adequate financing". More significantly, the goals include these:

*"The establishment and extension of
 Christian values and standards",
 *"The establishment of a system of
 values that supports democracy and the
 system of free enterprise",
 *"The appreciation and development of
 the own language, culture and
 traditions, as well as those of other
 groups in the country",
 *"The formation and development of
 national pride, solidarity and the
 cultivation of an undivided loyalty to
 the common fatherland" (Education
 Committee, 1985: 26-27).

These basic goals are expanded upon in succeeding sections, which enunciate fourteen aspects of policy by which they are to be realised, and a number of accompanying strategies. A major flaw is that the most comprehensive and controversial of the goals are not defined. These are, amongst others, the four which are separately indicated above, and the lack of definition implies either that there was unspoken agreement amongst members of the committee as to what these imply, or that achieving the much-valued consensus required that the implications should not be spelled out. It is likely that the latter was the case, as is evinced by the fact that an alternative report was drawn up by the two representatives of the Administration for Whites. This Administration is controlled by supporters of the ideals of the National Party of South Africa, and is thus dedicated to upholding racial segregation, existing white privileges, and the Christian National philosophy. Significantly, this alternative submission also did not attempt to define key concepts in the main report such as "Christian values and standards", "democracy and free enterprise", and "development of national pride, solidarity and cultivation of an undivided loyalty". The main concern was to emphasise the necessity of allowing

each "cultural group" to retain maximum control of its "own" educational system; these representations were supported by many quotations from Christian National educationists in South Africa, or from others whose views seem to support that educational philosophy. This minority report reflects not only long-ingrained racial prejudice, but also the determination of the Administration for Whites (in common with other ethnic authorities) to retain services and facilities under its own authority.

Both the AGN (1982-83) and the Education Committee (1985) reports are the product of reformism, which operates by attempting to incorporate key, elite elements of the oppressed populations into governmental and administrative structures, while leaving the ends of hegemony intact. This explains the avoidance in the AGN report of any discussion of educational philosophy, or of the political system within which education is grounded. It explains, too, the "mystifying vagueness of terms and references" in the Education Committee report (Melber, 1987: 134), for reformism aims at dissimulating the true nature of power relations by, amongst other means, employing ambiguity and symbolism in the service of hoped-for, broad mobilisation and motivation (cf. Lewis, 1984).

Underlying reformism is the belief that a better state of affairs can be brought about gradually, without major departures at any point from the ruling patterns of domination. Reformism does not basically challenge a system, but rather advocates that technical adjustments should be made to allow the system to operate more efficiently, and to allow access by more people to its

benefits. At the heart of this exercise in reactionary idealism is a failure to attempt a proper assessment of the nature of the ruling ideology, of the aspirations of the majority of Namibians, and the conditions under which these might reasonably be fulfilled. De Klerk's words, written with reference to South Africa in 1975, apply to reformist discourse in Namibia as well:

Delaying actions, shifts, artifices,
the doubtful art of semantic jugglery
- saying not what you mean, and
meaning not what you say, pretending
that power is to be shared, while in
actual fact it is not...(De Klerk,
1975: 336).

A series of substantial proposals on national policies for an independent Namibia have resulted from the research activities of the United Nations Institute for Namibia (UNIN) in Lusaka, culminating in the publication in 1986 of **Namibia: perspectives for national reconstruction and development**, which makes recommendations in twenty-five policy areas. The United Nations Institute for Namibia was founded in 1976, consequent upon the recognition three years earlier by the U.N. General Assembly of SWAPO as the "sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people" (UNIN, 1987a: 10). Founded under the aegis of the U.N. Council for Namibia, the primary objectives of the Institute, initially, were

To provide to Namibians the necessary education and training so as to strengthen all their efforts, including those at the political level, in their struggle for freedom and to equip them for the future planning of and participation in the organization of various government departments and public services in an independent Namibia (ibid.: 10-11).

A further aim was to prepare, through research, the following: studies, draft legislation, reports and other publications which would be useful to the government of an independent Namibia (*ibid.*) The charter has subsequently been revised and expanded, although not departing from the original terms of reference.

As one of a series of specific policy area studies, UNIN in 1984 published **Education policy for an independent Namibia**. The terms of reference are clearly set out in the foreword: to institute an educational system which is compatible with a social order which "promotes the creation of a self-reliant, egalitarian society" in an independent Namibia. The full details of this social order are not explicitly outlined, but can be consulted elsewhere, for example in *SWAPO of Namibia: To be born a nation* (1981). Correctly, and in contrast to the two reports already discussed, this set of recommendations recognizes that "A policy for the education sector cannot be developed in isolation from the identified national goals" (UNIN, 1984: 20). The priorities of the investigation were thus properly established.

The major operational goals of education in an independent Namibia are defined: (i) "urgent training of technical and professional cadres at institutions of technical and higher learning", (ii) "provision for work-oriented, comprehensive education and training for illiterate and semi-literate adults", (iii) "laying the foundation of a free and universal education for all Namibians...by training many teachers and educationists now", (iv) "developing the people's cultural creativeness". The report also affirms that "meaningful development depends on the development of human resources through education",

and that the "humiliations of the past" must be overcome (ibid.)

In its technical and structural recommendations, the UNIN report does not differ greatly from the two already discussed. It calls for free and compulsory schooling, elimination of wastage as a result of drop-outs and repeaters, work-orientated training (including the establishment of vocational and technical training institutions), centralised control of education with equitable financing of all sectors, the provision of adult and non-formal education programmes, and improved teacher training. Furthermore, in three basic respects it also ostensibly agrees with the philosophy of the two reports produced on behalf of government in Namibia: education should "utilise human resource potential", should "motivate pupils to cherish cultural values", and should be a key factor in increasing productivity.

The UNIN report is, however, far more comprehensive and radical than the AGN and Education Committee reports, in that it specifically acknowledges the essential connection between national policies and the educational system which is a product of those policies. Although it does not provide a detailed political programme, it gives broad outlines of the society which is envisaged: "Education in Namibia must aim at creating a socialist society"; Namibian society must be a "free and democratic" one in which "every citizen has the opportunity to exercise his right to education"; legislative and financial measures must be designed "to secure full equality of access" to all types of education, and to ensure "full equality in the prospects of success"; the centralised form of decision-making which is envisaged must be consonant with

the objectives of "national unity and cohesiveness" (ibid.: 21). The UNIN report concludes with an explicit acknowledgement of the relationship between national policies and education, stating that

The policy options developed in this study are based on the central argument that education is not just about pedagogy. It is also about people, and politics...the decision to transform the Namibian society from its colonial outlook to a liberated and democratic one will be a political decision, and the introduction of basic education to replace present apartheid based education in Namibia will also be a political decision (ibid.: 49).

The modernising basis of the UNIN (1984) report is explicitly revealed in many of its proposals and assumptions, and nowhere more directly than in its advocacy of education as a means to "improve the quality of life of the masses", within the context of "political, cultural and economic changes" which are "both recognized and directed by government" (ibid.: 41). Development is defined in terms of salient indicators which include per capita income, productivity, quality of life, standards of health and nutrition, technical infrastructure and degree of scientific awareness (ibid.: 41-42). Expectations of being able to achieve these goals by social programmes, including education, are qualified in the report by lessons learnt from other modernising situations, specifically the manner in which elites often come to dominate higher education, and the dangers of producing ever-increasing numbers of qualified people for an economy which cannot employ them. For this reason a particular, but not absolute, emphasis is placed

on basic education, designed in the expectation that for a majority of Namibians it will, for a long time, be the only educational experience.

The report recognizes that, as with other social programmes, education can only achieve its goals if it is perceived by people to be "directly relevant and of critical value to their future lives" (ibid.: 44). It recommends that acceptance should be achieved both by leadership, which will credibly propagate social values, and by the participation of local communities in planning programmes and activities.

No comprehensive proposals on educational reform, similar to those reviewed above, have been published by bodies within Namibia which oppose South African colonialism. The significance attached to education by the Council of Churches in Namibia, and its member churches, may be deduced from the fact that this body has established within its administration both Formal and Non-Formal Education Units, as well as an English Language Project. The constitutive social values which are espoused by this body are, in large part, as described by Moodie (in the South African context):

...the form of Christianity accepted by most black Africans has been evangelical, rather than Calvinist, stressing admission of individuals to the universal church of Christ rather than the establishment of autogenous churches...As a result, indigenous black African "nationalism" has tended to stress common citizenship for all individuals in the multi-racial state rather than the ethnic pluralism peculiar to Afrikaners (Moodie, 1975, : 271).

In the absence of formal proposals, the attitude towards education of the influential majority churches, and of the CCN, may be deduced, for instance, from the underlying philosophy which is exemplified in practice, from the operations of the various church schools, and from pronouncements by individual employees of the CCN. For example, Norah Chase, at that time Director of the Formal Education Unit, wrote in 1987:

Progressive educationists (on the other hand), informed by critical theory and alternative values, have a responsibility not only in preparing for an independent Namibia but through their practice to demonstrate that alternative avenues are real and distinct possibilities. Teaching, it is said, becomes a learning experience when students are accorded their legitimate status as creative participants in the educational process. When this occurs, then education becomes a powerful tool in the deconstruction of myths, fantasies and an oppressive ideology (Chase, 1987: 146).

In the same publication, Vazera Kandetu, Associate General Secretary of the CCN, deplores the Euro-centred assault on traditional cultures in Namibia, and on indigenous self-respect. He espouses "a patient, careful analysis of the Namibian cultural situation" (Kandetu, 1987: 169), and proposes that a truly national educational system will

...demand students who are taught in a non-racial system to become upright citizens, and who do not regard themselves as members of this or that language, "ethnic" or cultural group (ibid.: 170).

As Totemeyer has shown, in his significant study of the attitudes of Wambo people towards modernisation and modernising groups, religious leaders have been "the first new or modernizing elite to be formed" (Totemeyer, 1978: 31). Amongst the foremost characteristics of modernisation, as defined in the present context, are these: establishing one national identity; consolidating territorial boundaries; secularisation and centralisation of authority and institutions; specialisation and differentiation of social and economic roles and institutions; emergence of political awareness and capacity; spread of literacy and formal education; mobility; urbanisation; and the rise of new elites (cf. Fishman, 1972b; Berger, 1974; Thompson, 1981; Todaro, 1981). Totemeyer's study indicates, *inter alia*, the favourable attitude of his sample of Wambo respondents in Owambo and Windhoek towards matters such as freedom to purchase land (as opposed to traditional systems of land ownership); the World Court judgement of 1971, which declared South African occupation of Namibia to be illegal; the United Nations, which has consistently proposed internationally-recognized independence for the territory; the existence of political parties; and support for one united, independent state. Totemeyer also refers to the increasing identification of the modernising elite with English, as both symbol and instrument of their goals. It is significant that both groups of his respondents, urban and rural, placed teachers and clergymen as the most highly esteemed occupations, in that order. This agrees with the assessment of Malan (1986). Thus it may legitimately be inferred that the respondents, who testified strongly to modernising attitudes, also regarded members of the "modernising elite groups" (Totemeyer, 1978: 141) as

being most representative of their opinions. In contrast, the South African Government continues to recognize and negotiate only with traditional leaders, or with those who support ethnic particularism and national fragmentation.

Unfortunately, no similar surveys have been undertaken of other groups, but because Wambo people represent over half of the population of Namibia (see Chapter Two), and because the attitudes evinced by the sample are those which are consistently voiced by the majority of representatives of the modernising elites, it may reasonably be inferred that a significant number of Namibians have similar attitudes towards many issues. Like Christian National educationists, many Namibians also agree that education should serve to reinforce dominant social and cultural values. Totemeyer's study, the findings reported in this work (see later), and the recommendations of SWAPO of Namibia and the international bodies which are in agreement with it, all suggest that these dominant values are in close agreement with the characteristics of modernisation which have been listed above.

In clarifying the theory-based distinctions between South African-orientated bodies and officials, and those who oppose them, one may conveniently refer to Berger's (1974) distinction between the "imperialistic" and "modernising" paradigms. In the latter, **development** is a central concept for, as Berger says, it "is not just a goal of rational actions in the economic, political and social spheres. It (development) is also, and very deeply, the focus of redemptive hopes and expectations" (Berger, 1974: 33). It is on this

basis that bodies such as SWAPO of Namibia, The United Nations Institute for Namibia, the Council of Churches in Namibia, (CCN) and other groups and parties, can meet in common purpose, while each maintains its own autonomy and sphere of authority. Berger's analysis, which is accepted here, further identifies growth and modernization as necessary concomitants of development. The former are comparatively neutral terms, being capable of analysis according to accepted criteria, but "development" is value-laden, a notion of "moral approval and political purpose" (ibid.: 51-53). Todaro concurs in this opinion, stating that:

Development must (therefore) be conceived of as a multi-dimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes and national institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of absolute poverty (Todaro, 1981: 69-70).

It is the concept of development and its corollary, underdevelopment, regarded as "a consciously experienced state of deprivation" (ibid.), which informs the proposals for educational reform which are advanced by those who are opposed to the South African-ordained dispensation in Namibia.

Fundamental to the debate between the two parties is the question of who and what is served by the educational system. To Christian National educationists and, in a somewhat weaker version, to those who formulated recent proposals for educational reform on behalf of the Interim Government i.e. Education Committee (1985), the answer is

that education serves a normatively-prescriptive concept of a cultural community. On the other hand, to proponents of developmentally-centred education, good policy-making requires as an essential condition that there should be consultation with and compliance by the target groups or "beneficiaries" of the policy (cf. Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979b: 24). This philosophy of education would agree with Havelock and Huberman's opinion that "the pattern of participation among the members of a social system is the central issue in the successful implementation of social policies" (1977: 194). It would agree, too, with Prewitt and Oculi's assertion that educational programmes are successful when "they are congruent with the remainder of society's socialization mechanism" (1971: 15) (cf. also Bowles, 1977: 147). In other words the developmental position contends that educational decisions should be participatory, needs-based, context-specific, and subservient to considerations of wider social policy. It is opposed on almost all major points to the prescriptive, static and normative philosophy of education which has hitherto prevailed in South Africa and in Namibia.

Education is thus a directly political activity, regarded and utilised by decision-makers as a major instrument of social policy. In Namibia it has unambiguously been employed as such, and has so been perceived by those who have been the objects of policy-making. The values which have been attached to the educational enterprise, in general, have also attached to language, the medium through which the enterprise is conducted. The strong affect and symbolism, as well as clear perceptions of sociofunctional separation, which have accrued not only to the languages of wider communication in Namibia,

English and Afrikaans, but also to the vernaculars, will be explored in the next chapter. It will be seen that there are well-defined constellations of attitudes in respect of languages, which match the philosophical and socio-theoretical distinctions which have been outlined above.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 3: Tables 1, 2 and 3

TABLE 1: Pupil enrolments in the northern and southern inspectoral circuits of the Central area (1949)

	SUB-STANDARDS A AND B	STANDARDS										TOTAL
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
"Native"	2872	494	354	189	33	9	3	0	0	0	0	3 954
Percentage	72,6%	12,5%	9,0%	4,8%	0,8%	0,2%	0,1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	
White	1151	622	577	611	519	446	341	134	102	31	26	3 409
Percentage	25,3%	13,7%	12,7%	13,4%	11,4%	9,8%	7,5%	2,9%	2,2%	0,7%	0,6%	

TABLE 2: Government expenditure on "European" and "Non-European" education (1947 - 48)

	EUROPEAN	NON-EUROPEAN
Amount spent	£328 904	£73 796
No. of pupils	6 648	7 256
Average per pupil	£49. 9s. 6d	£9. 15s. 4d

TABLE 3: Numbers of pupils in selected school years, with cumulative percentages (1981)

	BLACK PUPILS		COLOURED PUPILS		WHITE PUPILS	
	Number	Cumulative %	Number	Cumulative %	Number	Cumulative %
Sub A	55 101	27,89	5 261	15,79	1 712	9,4
Std 2	21 259	71,40	3 695	63,84	1 665	47,4
Std 5	14 294	93,63	2 936	82,12	1 622	65,5
Std 8	3 047	99,37	952	97,40	1 206	88,20
Std 10	346	100	284	100	990	100
TOTAL (all years)	197 533		33 315		18 171	

INSERT

Chronological guide to reports on education and language which are referred to in Chapters Three and Four

- 1958 Administration of South West Africa: Verslag van die Kommissie van Onderzoek na Nie-Blanke Onderwys ("Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Non-White Education") (Note: This report followed that of the Eiselen Commission (1951) in South Africa, which paved the way for the introduction of Bantu Education in South Africa, via the Bantu Education Act of 1953.)
- 1981 United Nations Institute for Namibia: Towards a language policy for Namibia
- 1982 Human Sciences Research Council: Aspekte van taal- en kommunikasie-aangeleenthede in S.W.A./Namibië ("Aspects of language and communication matters")
- 1982-83 Advieskomitee vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing in S.W.A./Namibië: Onderzoek na die onderwys in S.W.A./Namibië ("Investigation into education") (1982: Volumes 1-4; 1983: Volume 5)
- 1983 South West Africa People's Organization and Commonwealth Secretariat: Report on the Seminar on the English Language Programme for Namibians
- 1984 United Nations Institute for Namibia: Education policy for an independent Namibia
- 1985 Education Committee: Recommendations for a national education policy objectives and strategies
- 1986 United Nations Institute for Namibia: Namibia: perspectives for national reconstruction and development

CHAPTER FOUR: LANGUAGE POLICIES AND LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION IN NAMIBIA.

This chapter is essentially concerned with describing and examining the language policies which have been pursued in education in Namibia since 1915, the date at which South Africa assumed control of South West Africa, following military conquest. As was shown in Chapter Two, South African control over the territory was confirmed by the mandate of the League of Nations in 1920. The early part of this chapter briefly sets the scene for the rest, by describing language patterns in the territory, especially in education, during the pre-Mandate period. It will be shown that significant attitudes towards language, and patterns of use, which are current at the time of writing, have their origins in events and decisions of the pre-Mandate era.

The first section of this chapter specifies the area of Namibia in which the research which is the subject of this study was conducted. This enables the reader to focus attention on trends and policies which have particular relevance for the area of research. The chapter proceeds further by providing discrete accounts of language education policies in the South African period with respect to Afrikaans, the vernacular languages, and English. The final section reviews proposals on language policy for Namibia, specifically in education, which have been made during the 1980's, a time of major changes in this respect.

4.1 The area in which this research was conducted

It will have become clear from discussion in Chapters Two

and Three that Namibia has never had a single system of education jointly administering schools for all people in all parts of the country. This situation has intimately reflected the various colonial political dispensations which, as has been shown, have authorised in the main two clear separations of educational functions, viz.

(1) The provision of a well-facilitated educational system for the advantaged, politically dominant white population, together with a poorly provided, separate system (or systems, depending on the political era) for the other, deprived population groups of the central and southern areas of Namibia.

(2) Separate education for the northern areas of Owambo, Kavango and Caprivi, which were not only politically and infrastructurally isolated until the inception of the homelands or separate development policy in the 1960's, but were also until that time virtually bereft of central government financing, and supervision, of education.

The research on which this study is based was carried out in the central area of Namibia, an entity marked off by the Etosha Pan and the Ovambo/Kavango border in the north, and the borders of Namaland in the south, near Mariental (see map). From Windhoek, the capital city of Namibia, the area extends roughly 450 kilometres north, and 300 kilometres south. In direct line from Windhoek, it is about 300 kilometres east to the Botswana border, and approximately the same distance west to the coast of the Atlantic Ocean.

The reasons for selecting the central area as the focus of research are outlined in detail at the beginning of Chapter Seven, in which the research design is set out. They will be repeated in less detail here. Firstly, the

northern areas have had a discrete and separate linguistic history, and are still at present largely homogenous in linguistic composition, in contrast to the far more multilingual central and southern areas. Secondly, the northern areas have had an entirely different educational history and structure of control. Thirdly, Owambo, by far the most populous of any area of Namibia, with about half of the total population of the country, instituted English-medium education in 1981, and thus does not offer the possibility of pre-implementation research. Fourthly, the northern areas are very difficult of access, being racked by war, and by social and infrastructural dislocation, as well as having poor road and communication networks.

The southern areas of Namibia are quite easily accessible, but are very sparsely populated, being semi-desert. The linguistic composition and history is quite unique. It was in these areas that Afrikaans first spread as a lingua franca in the early nineteenth century (refer to the next section of this chapter), and the large majority of the population are either Afrikaans-speaking, or are bilingual in that language and in Nama.

The major population groups of the central area (excluding the south) speak one of the three languages of European origin, primarily Afrikaans, or the indigenous languages, Herero, and Damara (which has only minor lexical differences from Nama, hence the appellation "Nama-Damara"). The focus of research throughout this

study is on language in education in schools for black pupils, these being the resort of the large majority of the population. These institutions are by far the most affected by multilingual policies, and by questions of which second language is most suitable to be employed as medium of instruction. Although three separate education authorities control black education in the central areas, the region had a joint educational history until recently, and has historically been multilingual, with relatively free movement between the various districts. In addition, at the time of beginning this research, English-medium education had not been instituted, although it seemed likely that it would be within a relatively short period. This has, indeed, begun to happen even while this research was being conducted. Thus, on the latter grounds alone, the central areas offered the most favourable opportunity of conducting research before the fact of implementation, in the likelihood that the conclusions and recommendations could be useful at the inception stage.

4.2 Language in the pre-Mandate period

As stated in Chapter One, no thorough sociolinguistic surveys are available for Namibia. It can, therefore, be expected that an account of language patterns during the nineteenth century, a period far less documented than the present, will be even more difficult to describe. Much of the analysis can only be based on inference from contingent sources, such as travel literature and reconstructions by modern specialists in adjacent disciplines who have reviewed historical and socio-economic features of Namibia in the nineteenth century.

The pre-German colonial period was characterized both by expansion from the north and from the south. From the north, there was penetration by Owambo-speaking groups, moving southwards from their traditional heartland above the Etosha Pan. However, the most significant large-group migration was that of the Mbanderu who, leaving their fellow Herero-speaking compatriots in Kaokoland, moved south and east into the area of present-day districts such as Outjo, Tsumeb, Grootfontein and Waterberg. From there the group separated, with some clans going towards the coast and settling in western areas such as Omaruru and Karibib, and the main group populating districts such as present-day Windhoek and Gobabis. Nomadic movements and settlements characterised the demography of the central areas of Namibia during the first half of the nineteenth century (cf. Michael Scott Oral Records Project, 1986). Both the Owambo group of languages and Herero are closely-related members of the Bantu language family, and thus one may infer the large degree of linguistic homogeneity which characterized the central and northern areas of Namibia during the nineteenth century.

From the south, incursions were made by European explorers such as Galton, Chapman, Alexander and Baines, but more significantly by traders who generally imported and exported to Cape Town via Walvis Bay. Permanent settlements initially based on trade grew up at Windhoek (formerly Aigams) and Otjimbingwe; it has been recorded that the former had a population of over four thousand during the 1840's (Vedder, 1938). Such a settlement was linguistically heterogenous, having substantial components of Nama- and Dutch-speakers, intermingled with

Herero, and other European languages. Unfortunately there is no description of the linguistic patterns which prevailed in such areas of contact.

The most significant incursion from the south was that of the Oorlams, a group of mixed Khoe and Dutch ancestry, who brought with them habits and technology acquired in the Cape Colony: guns, ox-wagons and horses, a desire for trade and land conquest, and substantial use of Dutch. (It has been noted that Dutch is the progenitor of Afrikaans, which was officially recognized as replacement for Dutch in South Africa in 1925). These Oorlam groups established ascendancy over the indigenous Nama - to whom they were related in many respects - as well as over the Herero groups of the central areas in districts such as Windhoek, Okahandja and Otjimbingwe. Thus they checked the southwards expansion of Bantu-language groups, and themselves introduced a European language into the territory as a potential lingua franca:

Because Afrikaans was brought into the land by the Oorlams, the language was already well known there when Afrikaners trekked into the territory. By 1884 - the year in which German authority was established - Afrikaans was the most important language of communication (Steyn, 1980: 154) (translated from Afrikaans).

The influence which Dutch (Afrikaans) exerted over the indigenous inhabitants of the south of the territory may be gauged from an incident recorded by Vedder, who tells of how the Nama chief, David Christian of Bethanie, rejected missionary Knudsen's attempt to teach through medium of the Nama language: "Only Dutch. Nothing but Dutch. I despise myself and want to creep into the

bushes for very shame when I speak Hottentot". This is recorded as having taken place during the early 1840's, when the Rhenish Missionary Society was beginning its work (Vedder, 1938: 241).

However, unlike the experiences of the British colonies of the Cape and Natal, and the Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, South West Africa before the 1880's was not characterised by European settlement and thus did not experience large-scale seizure of land. For example, the Dutch-speaking Baster group who settled in Rehoboth had to obtain permission from the indigenous people of the area, and the Thirstland Trekkers, Boers from the Transvaal who had crossed the Kalahari, were at first denied a place of settlement in both Herero and Wambo areas. Although traders and missionaries did serve as middlemen or spokesmen in commercial affairs, in between-group contacts, and in negotiations with the colonial authorities of Germany and of the Cape Colony, there is no evidence of vernacular replacement, nor that the European languages were much sought after by more than a handful of indigenous inhabitants. The truth of the claim by Steyn (quoted above) as to the importance of Afrikaans, may be disputed; at most, it may apply only to the sparsely-populated southern areas, and to places of contact in the central area, such as Windhoek and Okahandja.

The fact that the northern areas had a separate history throughout the nineteenth century and until the 1960's, has already been referred to previously. This was occasioned to a large extent by their relative inaccessibility, being very far distant from suitable

harbours in either South West Africa or in Angola, and being bordered by the hostile Namib Desert and Kaokoveld to the west, and by dense bush to the south. The traveller Galton records that he had to abandon his ox-wagons far south of Owamboland, while Andersson reports having to fell one thousand bushes in every mile traversed northwards (cf. Haarhoff, 1983:9). These journeys during the 1850's were followed up by visits by members of the German Rhenish Mission which was already active in other parts of South West Africa. Owing to shortages of manpower and money, the mission field was offered to the Finnish Missionary Society of Helsinki, which began its work in Owamboland in 1870. Because of the remoteness of the area from all types of external influences, the strongly Protestant Finnish mission throughout pursued an undiluted vernacular policy which resulted in the almost complete lack of penetration by any of the European languages. This probably paved the way for the introduction of English-medium instruction in Owambo in 1981, during the period with which this work is concerned, as will be discussed later. In addition, the missionaries gave prestige to the dialects of Ndonga and Kwanyama, which are even today the only components of the Wambo language group which have significant literatures, and which are taught as school subjects at both higher primary and secondary school levels. However, perhaps the most significant influence of the missionaries, in respect of future language policy, was their contribution towards the breakdown of what Totemeyer calls "tribal particularism": it is his opinion that "thus a process of Owamboland nation-building began" (1978:21). It will be seen that present expectations of future language policy in Namibia are conditioned by strong modernizing,

integrationist tendencies, which lead to ever-increasing demands for English-medium instruction, and to an aversion for vernacular-medium education. Thus the roots of the present-day dispute concerning language policy lie to a significant extent in the influences exerted by the mission churches.

After the establishment of the German protectorate in 1884, the colonial authorities interfered very little in the northern areas. This, too, favoured the vernacular-medium policy of the Finnish Mission. In the rest of the territory, however, German was introduced as a subject of instruction in schools for the indigenous inhabitants, this being a condition for the granting of a government subsidy to mission schools (cf. Noble, 1977). In this respect, however, the penetration of German was probably quite limited, because of the small school attendance, the few years spent at school, and the vast social disruptions caused by the wars with the Nama and Herero peoples. Brosnahan has provided a list of four factors which are necessary for a language to be established as a lingua franca:

- (1) It must be spread over a large area;
- (2) It must be maintained there for a considerable period;
- (3) It must spread over a multilingual area;
- (4) It must confer benefits of a material or practical advantage (Brosnahan, 1963:15).

It is doubtful that the last three factors applied to German in the relatively short history of German dominance; not only was the period restricted, but there was a large degree of linguistic homogeneity amongst indigenous groups, and little material or

practical advantage to learning German under conditions of warfare and subjugation. By 1912, there were only about 5500 black children at school (Ellis, 1984:15).

4.3 Afrikaans during the South African period

If German did not make the substantial advances which often accrue to a colonial language, because of the factors cited above, nor did Afrikaans which, arguably, in more favourable circumstances, may have attained greater lingua franca status south of the Etosha Pan in the pre-1915 period. German colonialism imposed a new military and trading pattern on the territory, effectively restricting the influence of the Afrikaans-using Oorlam, Nama and Baster groups, and jealously guarding against the intrusion of other European influences. Steyn has noted that Afrikaans did not spread via white, Boer settlers as it did in South Africa and that, on the contrary, both the Oorlams/Namas and the German authorities deliberately excluded white Afrikaans-speakers from the territory:

Why were there such feelings against "the Boers"? Some of the antagonism had entered the territory with the Oorlams...there were descendants of slaves from the Cape Colony amongst them. Some were fugitives from justice. Exaggerated stories of large-scale Boer treks to South West caused frequent uproar amongst the inhabitants...Many Germans, but not all, were scared that the "Deutschtum" would be endangered (Steyn, 1980: 154-155) (translated from Afrikaans).

Steyn also records that the German authorities refused to allow Boer settlers in southern areas to have

their children educated through medium of Afrikaans. If enrolled at school, these children would have to become German subjects and would have to serve in the German army (ibid.). For many Afrikaners, this period is still a focus of interest, as the time of a receptive frontier into which Afrikaans spread, even while it "slowly lost its dominant position in the south to English", that is, in South Africa itself (ibid.: 126).

The language history of the post-Mandate period, up until the beginnings of the 1980's, was one of increasing dominance of Afrikaans in almost all spheres of higher language functions: government, administration, many areas of commerce and industry, education, literacy, and the media. The linguistic balance was swayed first by the post-First World War policy of repatriating many Germans, and opening up the territory to white immigration from South Africa. This practice not only achieved political ends, but also to an extent relieved the "poor white" problem in South African cities, caused by the rapid urbanization of many white people, who were predominantly Afrikaans-speaking. The rural districts of the central areas of Namibia were thus populated by a mainly Afrikaans-speaking settler class, who employed large numbers of dispossessed black people as labourers, and, in the manner of such settlers in South Africa, communicated mainly through medium of the language of dominance rather than through an indigenous language.

Until the 1940's, state administration tended to be bilingual in Afrikaans and English, perhaps tending more towards the latter because of the predominance of senior English-speaking officials. However, archival materials

show a noticeable growth in the use of Afrikaans in this sphere after 1948, following the political victory in South Africa of the Afrikaner Nationalist party. An aggressive Afrikanerisation policy was pursued in the civil service, and by the mid-1950's almost all administrative correspondence was in Afrikaans, a situation which has pertained up until the present. Thus Afrikaans spread rapidly as a lingua franca in the central areas of Namibia, amongst others being the language in which the dispossessed had to seek their living in both rural and urban areas. It was also the medium through which they had to cope with the multitude of restrictive apartheid laws, covering matters such as population registration, areas of residence, movement between districts, and permits of employment. Afrikaans also became the chief lingua franca used in contact situations between Khoesan- and Bantu-speakers in the central and southern areas, as it still is in many such situations today. Although a large majority of Namibians has always been illiterate, as today, those black Namibians, primarily in the central and southern areas, who have pursued literacy have done so generally via Afrikaans reading materials, occasioned by the fact that this has been the major language of literacy in the schools for over sixty years, by the paucity or near-absence of vernacular reading materials, and by the availability of Afrikaans materials because of the reading habits of the majority of the white population. The language of literacy, and the extent and accessibility of reading materials, have traditionally had significant effects on perceptions of language status. In the words of Pietersen, "A language whose literature is popular and of good quality has strong mainstays when its position is in danger" (1978:367).

These factors have contributed towards the enhancement of the status of the second languages, Afrikaans and English, in Namibia. Perhaps ironically they have been used in the present time as arguments for the greater use of English in many spheres. The predominance of second language reading skills over those of the mother tongue is reported in later chapters, where it is shown that a significant number of principals of primary schools report that their pupils read better in Afrikaans than in the mother tongue by the beginning of Standard 3 (the fifth year), even although reading is learnt exclusively through the mother tongue in the first two school years.

The philosophy of Christian Nationalism, which is the ideology of white Afrikaner power, has been examined in detail in the previous chapter. It may, briefly, be restated here that it rests, inter alia, on the belief that separate races are called to separate destinies, and to separate spheres of activity and habitation. "Race" is defined according to a variety of norms, including colour, origin, history, religious outlook, and language. The development of Christian Nationalism is closely linked to the "taalstryd" (language struggle) for recognition and dominance of Afrikaans, which itself served as a binding motif in achieving the solidarity amongst Afrikaners which was utilised to bring about political and economic advances. Thus many Afrikaners have a keen sense of the role which the predominance of Afrikaans plays in maintaining political power, and have, in addition, a deep sentimental attachment to the language which transcends the experiences of those who speak English or the vernacular languages in Southern Africa. The struggle to maintain the dominance of Afrikaans has become self-sustaining.

Before the Afrikaner Nationalist Party came to power in South Africa in 1948, the Christian Nationalist movement actively campaigned for mother tongue education of white pupils, while protesting against the practice of integrated (whites-only) schools and dual-medium instruction in Afrikaans and English (cf. Malherbe, 1978; Steyn, 1980). In this the white Afrikaner churches played an essential supporting role, reflecting both their place in the political and economic development of the Afrikaner and the role of religion in justifying power, and guardianship, over those who were not imbued with the truths of Christian Nationalism. For instance, in 1943 a "kring" (circuit) of the Dutch Reformed Church in South West Africa directed a written protest to the Department of Education in Windhoek in respect of the newly-applied policy of dual-medium instruction in white schools:

We are unanimous in feeling that the proposed method...is a threat to the mother-tongue soul of the people ("volkssiel") as well as to the religion of our forefathers and our traditions and, secondly, is in conflict with the convictions of pedagogues as expressed in many countries and also as employed by educational bodies in our country (Archive File EDU 807, Volume 1) (translated from Afrikaans).

The same themes were reflected over forty years later, in a memorandum directed to the Department of National Education in Windhoek in respect of the proposals of the Education Committee (1985) (see earlier). This representation, from the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church in South West Africa, emphasised that

In the aim of Christian group-identity

("volkseie"), the following are built in, inter alia: the identity of the people ("volk") which is a necessary condition for the fulfilment of that people's calling. This group-identity is a cultural matter which implies consciousness of difference, uniqueness and a specific nature ("eiesoortigheid") (N.G.Kerk, 1985:3) (translated from Afrikaans).

The memorandum continues by stating that the church therefore supports the promulgation of Proclamation A.G.8 which provides for ethnic Representative Authorities, including group control over education (ibid.: 5). Thus the church proposes the continuation of racially separate, Afrikaans-medium schooling for whites.

In South Africa and Namibia, mother tongue education is supported by a powerful constellation of Christian National interests, including universities, education departments and churches, which propagate the policy for ostensibly pedagogical reasons, and support their position by arguments gleaned from psychological and linguistic sources. While mother tongue education is advocated as being pedagogically correct, within a context which emphasises "educational autonomy", the policy has an integral place in justifying and maintaining white power and privilege by means of the policy of apartheid, or separate development.

Thus mother tongue education is supported by most white Afrikaners - indeed, by most whites - because it promotes the linguistic and racial exclusiveness, and sense of group cohesion, on which their rise to power and material affluence has been based. At the same time, mother tongue education has been imposed upon black people because it will, as hypothesised by white

politicians and planners, frustrate black unity and hence ward off the largest single and most powerful potential challenge to Afrikaner power (cf. Moodie, 1975; Thompson, 1985).

On this issue, however, there have been evident tensions amongst policy-makers throughout the period of South African control of Namibia. As will be recounted in the next section of this chapter, initial language policy in respect of black schools in the central areas advocated mother tongue education throughout the primary phase. However, this policy was frustrated by the lack of school literature in the vernacular languages, partly a consequence of the unwillingness of the authorities to divert the finances required to undertake the major task of producing and updating such literature. Then, too, such teacher training as was undertaken was usually supervised by whites, not only because of the absence of qualified black teachers, but also as a means of maintaining educational control. Thus teacher training was not conducted in the vernacular languages, but in Afrikaans. Later, with the accession to power of the Afrikaner Nationalist government in South Africa in 1948, and with the accompanying intensification of Afrikaner cultural pride, including promotion of the language, there came about a growing desire to foster greater use of Afrikaans even amongst those who were not home-language speakers. Thus the official mother tongue policy in education has never been pursued with unambiguous vigour. It has in fact been frustrated by Afrikaner officials who administered the black educational systems through Afrikaans, and who have been reluctant to vote the relatively large sums of money necessary to develop the vernaculars for modern purposes,

and to produce textbooks and educational materials in these languages. Then, too, the black inhabitants of Namibia have preferred to advocate the learning of the language, or languages, of power, and not the vernaculars. In consequence, Afrikaans has throughout been the major medium of instruction in black education in the central areas, and has often been employed even in the junior primary phase because of the inadequate vocabulary and school literature in the vernacular languages. It has, too, been taught as a school subject from the second school year, and has been the language of literacy. Thus it has been unequivocally the dominant language of education in the central areas since the 1920's, as it has been in society at large. In the northern areas, the dominance of Afrikaans began with the introduction of Bantu Education there, during the 1960's.

During the twentieth century, Afrikaans has waged an unsuccessful struggle for dominance against English in South Africa, even although its white speakers have been politically powerful for most of that time. However, in Namibia its spread has been comparatively unrestricted until recently, since when English, perceived by many Afrikaners as the carrier of jingoism and internationalism (the great dangers to Christian Nationalism), has even in this once-safe haven for Afrikaans begun to widen its influence. To the old issues in this language struggle, correctly identified by Reagan (1983) as being support for exclusive dominance of English, on the one hand, and support for dual use of English and Afrikaans, on the other hand, have been added new symbolisms by proponents of the political status quo:

Some terrorist leaders have said "English is the language of the liberation struggle": that is, of terrorism. Afrikaans can become the language of freedom, progress and peace, as in S.W.A./Namibia (Steyn,

1980: 348) (translated from Afrikaans).

This author succinctly expresses, too, the history of the movement for Afrikaans language dominance as an integral part of the struggle for white hegemony when he says that while the present political alliances in Namibia remain the strongest (i.e. the South African-initiated attempts at establishing "Governments of National Unity": refer to Chapter Two), then "Afrikaans, instead of being endangered, will keep its rightful place in South West Africa" (ibid.: 302).

It has already been stated that Afrikaans, even where it has made substantial gains, has always stood in the shadow of English in South Africa, whereas in Namibia it has achieved unparalleled dominance, as recorded by writers such as Steyn (1980) (see above). This has come about because, unlike South Africa, Namibia has had no long tradition of education for black people through the medium of English (indeed, comparatively little education at all for black Namibians), no history of British colonialism, and no substantial English-speaking population. There has, too, been a significant absence of the modernising factors which are associated with the use of English in Southern Africa, such as large-scale urbanisation, industrialization, and until quite recently, black nationalist movements. In respect of the latter, it may be noted that political parties in Namibia are, apart from policies, separated by a profound language divide: the conservative, dependence-inclined parties generally use Afrikaans, while the integrationist, independence-minded parties use English.

Even during the 1980's, during which significant shifts

in language attitudes have taken place, Afrikaans has continued to be maintained as the major language of employment and administration and may, in fact, have extended its use in certain domains because of the large expansion of the civil service, and the increase in conscription of local men into the army.

4.4 The vernacular languages during the South African period

By 1915, the year of South African military occupation of South West Africa, about one hundred schools had been founded (Brock and Kamupingene, 1984:7). The majority were mission schools catering for black children, which had, to a large extent, been left to their own devices by the German colonial administration. The new Department of Education embarked on a programme of swift expansion in respect of schools for white pupils, in which the same language policies applied as in similar contexts in South Africa, namely mother tongue education for speakers of Afrikaans and English throughout all school phases, with compulsory study of the other language as a school subject. Speakers of German were permitted to maintain their own German-language schools, under control of the Department, with English and Afrikaans being taught as school subjects.

In respect of schools for black pupils, the Department of Education sought to apply the same policies as were in effect in South Africa. The missions were permitted to maintain managerial control of their schools, with the Department providing academic co-ordination in respect of inspection, curricula and syllabi. In 1923, as has been stated, the Department called a conference of mission

churches in Windhoek, which was attended by representatives of the Rhenish, Roman Catholic, Methodist and Anglican churches. The Finnish Lutheran mission was not invited to attend, which was indicative of the almost total neglect which the Department of Education would practise towards the northern areas for the following forty years. Prior to this conference, the Education Proclamation of 1921 had spelled out the relationship which would exist between the state and the mission churches in respect of black education (see the previous chapter). At the conference of 1923, syllabi, curricula and language medium were discussed. Of the two largest churches, the Rhenish mission chose Afrikaans as the medium of instruction, and the Roman Catholic representatives chose English (Administration of South West Africa, 1958: 39). There is, however, no evidence that the latter ever actually used English as medium of instruction for any significant period of time. The agreed practice, in fact, was to use the mother tongue, Nama-Damara or Herero, as medium of instruction in the first two school years, and then to change over to Afrikaans as medium. The latter was taught as a school subject from the first year, with the study of English being introduced in Standard 2 (the fourth year). Because of the large drop-out of pupils before this year, as shown for example in Table 1 at the end of Chapter Three, only a small minority of pupils ever made any acquaintance with English. By contrast, because of the lack of school books in the vernaculars, and because of their training, many teachers unofficially used Afrikaans as medium of instruction to a significant extent even in the first year of school. It is, for instance, recorded that at the Augustineum institution, the largest teacher training school, during the 1940's

and 1950's,

Afrikaans was used on all levels which did not naturally lend themselves to the use of a native language, such as methodology and school management. The study of Afrikaans was given considerable attention and subjects such as geography, history and nature study were taught through Afrikaans medium to encourage further use of the language (Administration of South West Africa, 1958:4).

The Augustineum institution, which was then situated at Okahandja, eighty kilometres north of Windhoek, was the main teacher training institution for the central and southern areas.

As stated, the mother tongue was not only used as a medium of instruction but was also taught as a school subject, and there were attempts by the mission authorities to produce both textbooks and readers in the vernaculars. The relatively unproductive nature of these endeavours is, however, reflected in the acerbic comments of the report of the 1958 Commission (see later).

The basic language medium pattern as described above was inherited from European practices in minority bilingual education (cf. Szepe, 1984), and conditioned by the Protestant heritage of the missionaries, which stressed access to the Bible and to worship through the language

of the home. It was reinforced by the policies of the colonial authorities, in Protestant-dominated contexts in Africa and elsewhere, who fostered the use of the vernacular languages in basic education, limiting teaching of the language of wider education to cadres who would comprise the colonial functionaries:

The elements to be considered in determining language of instruction are (1) that every people have an inherent right to their mother tongue; (2) that the multiplicity of tongues shall not be such as to develop misunderstandings and distrust among people who should be friendly and cooperative; (3) that every group shall be able to communicate directly with those to whom the government is entrusted; and (4) that an increasing number of Native people shall know at least one of the languages of the civilized nations (African Education Commission, 1922:25).

This quotation, from the first international educational commission to Africa, although not recounting official policy, is nevertheless an accurate account of the situation. To this constellation of primarily political considerations, Murray, writing seven years later, adds the so-called psychological and linguistic arguments which persist powerfully to the present day. He argues for mother tongue instruction in the first years: "the vernacular is the child's only language, and the beginnings of education cannot be made except through this mother-tongue" (Murray, 1929: 134). This has been a prominent theme amongst white policy-makers in Namibia, and is still so today, to an extent.

In the northern areas, under the Finnish Lutheran mission,

only the vernaculars were used as mediums of instruction. As has been stated, this policy was partly the result of the isolation of the area, in terms of physical distance and terrain, and partly the result of the political separateness which was enforced by both the German and South African authorities. The inhabitants of the northern areas could not migrate to the central areas except on short-term "migrant labour" contracts, and people from outside were not allowed to settle in those areas. The vernacular-only policy had direct linguistic causes, too, in that the Finnish missionaries had little command of Afrikaans and English. From the start they developed a so-called "bush school" system to propagate basic literacy. Ellis describes a typical situation in Owambo under the Finnish Mission:

Everyone who had learnt to read had to teach others. The "schools" would meet under a tree every weekday, and the "teachers" would meet on a Saturday to discuss the lessons for the coming week (Ellis, 1984: 18).

The first teacher training school in the north was established at Oniipa in 1913, but throughout at least the first forty years of its existence, it received little input from instructors who were proficient in Afrikaans and/or English. Teachers from outside the borders of South West Africa were not favoured for employment in the local school system, by official policy (see Chapter Three), and local teachers were hardly ever sent outside the borders of the territory for further training. It was only in the late 1950's that attempts were made to train teachers in Owambo through medium of Afrikaans, with both the missionaries and local

instructors struggling to adapt to the new language medium (oral informant, Windhoek, 1986).

The lack of teaching in the European languages was frequently cited as a reason for not paying subsidies. For instance, the Administrator of South West Africa complained in his report of 1938 that the Finnish missionaries "were not able to put their educational system on a sound footing". This, stated the report, was not only because of a lack of funds, but also because of complete ignorance of the South African educational system and related practices in school management, "which are as foreign to them as the official languages used in this country" (U.G. 20, 1934: 15-16). The linguistic homogeneity of the northern areas, both socially and educationally, may well account in part for the fact that in 1981 the administration of Owambo was the first ethnic authority to accomplish the quite radical change from Afrikaans- to English-medium. Unlike other areas of Namibia, where Afrikaans has been the major medium of instruction and most widely-used lingua franca for almost seventy years, widespread acquaintance with English and Afrikaans in the northern areas was first made only in the mid-1960's, with the introduction of Bantu Education, and of the "separate development" model of ethnic government on the South African pattern. Thus the decision to change from one medium to another was, by comparison with elsewhere, relatively easy to make. It has, however, had a definite effect on expectations and practices throughout Namibia.

Whereas until the early 1980's Afrikaans had been the major medium of all education for black children for

seven decades in the central areas, and for two decades in the north, decisions for English-medium have since been taken by the following authorities: (i) Owambo Authority, 1981; (ii) A decision "in principle" by the Damara Authority, 1984; (iii) A switch to English-medium by schools in Windhoek under the Department of National Education, from 1988; and (iv) A decision "in principle" by the Nama Authority, 1987. Thus, within a short time, the potential linguistic balance of Namibia has been altered substantially.

As has already been shown in the previous chapter, in 1958 the **Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Non-white education in South West Africa** was written, under chairmanship of the first Director of Bantu Education in South Africa. The commission was established to investigate how Bantu Education could be introduced into Namibia, and considerable attention was given to language matters. In pursuance of its goal of implementing educational systems which were fully in accord with apartheid ideology, the 1958 Commission made comprehensive proposals on language policy. These included the exclusive use of the mother tongues as mediums of instruction throughout the whole primary school phase, with the employment of Afrikaans as medium in the succeeding school years. The Commission deplored the lack of progress and co-ordination in producing school textbooks and literacy materials in the vernaculars:

Where only four school years are given over to the mother tongue as subject, it cannot be expected that the language will take its rightful place as a written language. This also limits the development of literature and the logical conclusion will be that the languages will degenerate...Everywhere, the native

languages are still so undeveloped that they cannot take their rightful places as mediums of instruction (Administration of South West Africa, 1958: 85) (translated from Afrikaans).

It was recommended that a Language Bureau should be established to produce materials written in the vernaculars but (so urgently did the Commission view the matter) that in the interim the lack of books would not be accepted as an excuse for teachers not implementing the provisions of the syllabi (*ibid.*: 108). The Commission's disapproval of the modernising views of teachers has already been noted, in the previous chapter.

As already stated, the Commission of Enquiry of 1958 was established to implement a system of education based on the Christian National philosophy. In this view, the mother tongue is regarded as having an intrinsic role in the specifications of a culture, which Christian National educationists seek to define. It is considered to be not only a demarcator of a cultural group, but also carries the life-and world-view of a community: "one's own background and origin find their realisation there, and therein is one's own ("eie") identity reflected" (Stone, 1972: 35) (translated from Afrikaans). For this reason, Christian Nationalism consistently emphasises that mother tongue education is pedagogically necessary, and that separate schools for different language groups, as established in South Africa, and Namibia are educationally correct. In support of this, the authorities in both South Africa and Namibia have engaged in extensive corpus planning, in which linguists and linguistic knowledge have been employed both as facilitators and as a means of providing the much

sought-after scientific justification. The application of mother tongue education in black schools, and the extensive work of corpus planners, i.e. developers of vocabulary and orthography, leads Steyn to claim that "The Afrikaner governments have certainly imposed racial discrimination...but they have not been guilty of language discrimination" (1980: 224) (cf. also Zimmermann, 1983, 1984; Reagan, 1985).

In respect of the implementation of Bantu Education in the central areas, the effect on language in education was relatively small. A Bureau for Indigenous Languages was established in Windhoek in 1964, as recommended by the 1958 Commission of Enquiry. This Bureau proceeded to produce school textbooks in the vernacular languages, enabling mother tongue instruction to be stabilized for the first three school years. As will be seen from the results of this research, however, it would appear that this concerted effort, still continuing today, has not convinced teachers of the correctness or desirability of mother tongue instruction for any of the school phases. Perhaps greater success has been achieved in respect of the teaching of the vernacular languages as school subjects, where sufficient texts have been produced to enable Herero and Nama-Damara, major languages of the central areas, to be taught as school subjects up to Standard Six (the eighth school year).

Bantu Education did succeed in more widely propagating the use of Afrikaans, as increasing numbers of children were brought into a school system which, throughout Namibia, used that language as the medium of instruction after the junior primary phase, and which taught it as a

school subject from the second year. For the northern areas, this was a particularly radical innovation, as no language besides the vernaculars had been used or taught to any significant extent in any phase of the school system. Thus the teachers in Owambo, for instance, and those pupils who proceeded beyond the junior primary phase, began to attain a relatively sound grounding in Afrikaans. However, as has been noted, by the mid-1970's, less than ten years after the introduction of Bantu Education, there were indications that educated people in the northern areas had begun to transfer their affections to English (cf. Totemeyer, 1977). Paradoxically, the rapid introduction of Afrikaans-medium in Owambo may have prepared the way for the English-medium decision of 1981 for, as a senior educational official of the Owambo Department of Education stated to me in 1982, if the Owambo pupils could adjust to the sudden introduction of Afrikaans, then they could do so in the case of English as well (oral informant, Windhoek, August 1982). Nevertheless, the education department of Owambo has consistently maintained a policy of employing the vernaculars as mediums of instruction in the junior primary school phase, probably reflecting the long period during which only the vernaculars were taught and used in the school system, while current policy in parts of the central areas is to abandon all vernacular-medium instruction. Ambiguity towards, and even distaste for, local languages in the school curriculum is found in other parts of Africa as well. Chishimba reflects on the situation in East Africa:

Aside from problems concerning orthographic standardization, teacher qualifications, and materials, there is very little interest in the local languages among the teachers themselves. Even in college, where courses may be offered in teaching local languages, few students show determination in following the courses. The reasons for this are many, but attitudinal and social reasons predominate...No one is rewarded for being a good teacher in an African language; if anything, particularly at higher school levels, a dedicated teacher of an African language is considered inferior and of a village mentality (Chishimba, 1981: 180-181).

In agreement with this assessment, Bamgbose notes that in West Africa many members of the educated elite, including those who formulate educational policy, will praise the virtues of the mother tongues, but "when it comes to sending their children to school, they settle for special private schools where English and French are taught (but not the mother tongue)..." (Bamgbose, 1976: 18-19). Certainly in Namibia at present, wherever parental pressure has had a direct effect on language policy, the tendency has been towards the early introduction of English-medium, and towards de-emphasising the mother tongues whether as mediums of instruction or as school subjects. Here reference may be made to the policies of a number of private schools, of both the church and community variety, and to the results of discussions between school committees of primary schools in Katutura, Windhoek, and the Minister of National Education in the Transitional Government. The latter discussions resulted in an announcement made in March, 1987, that from the following year these

schools would switch from Afrikaans- to English-medium, which would be introduced from the first school year.

As in South Africa, Bantu Education has been closely identified with apartheid, white dominance, and the denial of citizenship to black people. In consequence, Bantu Education in Namibia has resulted in a pronounced aversion to mother tongue instruction and, indeed, to any hint of segregationist tendencies in education on grounds of normatively-employed cultural and linguistic features:

Unlike elsewhere in the world where the use of the Mother Tongue is generally favoured to be used as a medium for progressive and positive reasons, in Namibia it is used by the South African government as a means of inculcating tribal consciousness, the perpetuation of tribal divisions and the reproduction of social, economic and political inequality between whites and blacks (Hishikushitya, 1985:32). (See also Haacke, 1985, and Melber, 1985)

4.5 English in education.

In view of the subject of this study, it is appropriate to devote a section to the discussion of English in education. It has already been shown that until 1981, the year in which Owambo switched to English-medium, the language had a very subordinate position in the education of the majority of Namibians. This was occasioned by the fact that English was neither used as a medium of instruction, except in a small number of schools with white, English-speaking pupils, nor was it prominent in the curriculum except as "third

language". In this capacity, as a school subject, it was not learnt until the third or fourth school years, and then not initially as a subject in which reading was done. Where there is a large early drop-out rate, as there has been and still is in Namibia, only a minority of pupils make any formal acquaintance with a language which is learnt under these circumstances.

In 1932, the Director of Education received a deputation of Herero leaders from Waterberg East Reserve (in the central area, about 250 kilometres north of Windhoek) who requested the abandonment of mother tongue medium education, and the employment of English, German and Afrikaans. Two years later, at a meeting in the Reserve attended by the Administrator and Marquis Theodoli of the Permanent Mandates Commission, the desire for English was specified by chief Otto Maherero. He linked the request to the protection which the Herero people had been given by the British authorities in the Bechuanaland Protectorate (now Botswana) after the savage German-Herero war of 1904:

In regard to the school question I would like to ask who brought this flag here (pointing to the South African flag) and who tied a chain around our necks, I would like to know? That flag (indicating the Union Jack in the South African Flag) is the one which loosened the chain from my neck. Why, therefore, should I seek another language? I wish to learn their language and then our children can work (Record of a meeting held on 7 August 1935 in Waterberg East Reserve: **Archive file A158/23, Volume 4**).

The report of the 1958 Commission of Enquiry refers to a delegation of Windhoek parents in 1932 who requested an English medium school, which, it is stated, was

established. Unfortunately, there is no archival evidence of the existence or fate of this school. The attitude of the Administration was clear:

Despising tuition in the mother tongue, they (the Herero people) strongly desire to acquire two foreign languages simultaneously for materialistic considerations only. This attitude is regarded to be in contradiction to a generally acknowledged educational principle (U.G. 31, 1937:18).

During the late 1940's, there were various circulars from the Department of Education to black school managements, requesting that schools which wished to introduce English as subject from Standard 1 should notify the Department for permission to so do (Archive file EDU/E742). The relative ineffectiveness of these measures, if implemented, is probably shown by the comment of the 1958 Commission of Enquiry that the Teachers' Union expressed the opinion "that more attention should be given to English" (Administration of South West Africa, 1958: 76). This request was linked to the Commission's opinion that many teachers, the "intellegentsia", had alienated themselves from their communities (see earlier). The lack of improvement in instruction in English in succeeding years is reflected in the final annual report of the Department of Bantu Education, the name of which had recently been changed to the Department of Education and Training, for the South West Africa area, in 1978:

The standard of instruction in English and the sciences is not always satisfactory because of the low academic qualification of the majority

of the teachers. Afrikaans is the generally-used language in South West Africa and the standard of instruction in this subject is thus much higher than in other school subjects (Department of Education and Training, 1978:4)

From time to time, there is evidence of an undercurrent of dissatisfaction with then-existing language policy. For instance, on 5 May 1948 the Windhoek Advertiser published a letter from "An African":

It is as clear as it is true, as it can be seen from the contribution by Chief Hosea and others, that Afrikaans is forced by the Education Department to be the medium of instruction in our schools but it is not in our interest. One wonders why Afrikaans should be taught in African schools at all. We know too well that Afrikaans medium universities in the Union do not admit Africans into their lecture rooms and only the English medium universities admit Africans. Furthermore, when we have to go overseas for studies we shall not come into contact with Afrikaans whatever. Must we sacrifice English to Afrikaans to our disadvantage?

This writer echoes two themes which are still prominent today: the superior usefulness of English for purposes of higher study, and the attraction of the international status of the language.

The letter above is a response to a notice inserted in the Windhoek Advertiser of 1 May 1948 by chief Hosea Kutako on behalf of the Herero people, asserting that the Reverend Michael Scott (see Chapter Two) spoke for them. The notice criticised the low standard of education,

which proceeded until only Standards 2 or 3, the poor quality of teacher training, and Afrikaans-medium education. It accused the system of producing not useful citizens but only "good boys, girls and servants, and also good Jims and Johns". The writer recommended a much higher level of teacher training at the Augustineum institution (then at Okahandja, near Windhoek), and that the training should include far more acquaintance with English (Troup, 1950: 181-182). That a more favourable climate for the language was not created at the Augustineum is reflected in the comment of a student who ended his period of study there in 1961:

...a student...might quite often, when seen reading an English newspaper, be subject to untold forms of harrassment, intimidation, and even ultimate expulsion (Geingob, 1967: 217).

It was with the rise of national resistance to apartheid and to South African colonialism that English was first widely propagated as the future national language and as the forthcoming major medium of instruction in education. The process accelerated to such an extent that Totemeyer could write in 1978, following his research in Owambo:

Afrikaans has begun to decline in acceptability among the modernizing elites because of opposition to the South African Government. The tendency is to replace it with English, no matter how imperfectly used (Totemeyer, 1978:178).

The same writer noted, too, that advocacy of English by the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO of

Namibia) is intended to contribute towards the abandonment of South Africa's "social, economic and political control over the development of Namibia" (ibid.: 206). As will be seen, this is a common theme in the central areas, as well.

In terms of documentation and research to explain the case, the growing advocacy of English for use at national level, and in education, in Namibia since the early 1970's remains a partial enigma. As stated, little documented evidence of widespread advocacy of English up until the end of the 1960's can be traced. Indeed, until that time, comparatively little at all was published on Namibia, whether written from inside or from outside the country. However, there is no doubt that the growing advocacy of English closely parallels the rise of indigenous political resistance to South African colonialism. Writing in 1975, Cowley bluntly summed up the position only sixteen years earlier: "Political activity was negligible before 1959. With the World Court case in sight, parties proliferated in the territory" (Cowley, 1975: 25). The author continues by recounting that at the time of his writing, about thirty political parties or groups could be identified in Namibia, of which the first party to be formed, and probably the largest, was "the Ovamboland People's Organisation, renamed SWAPO in 1960, out of a desire to join other tribes with the Ovambo" (ibid.) As far as can be traced, it was this party which first formally articulated a decisive national role for English in an official policy document: "Namibia should be a republic; English should be its official language" (South West African People's Organization, 1975: 42). This statement was made in the context of a working draft of constitutional proposals for an independent Namibia, which also contained opinion on the English language in relation to a future legal system, articulating

the common theme of the necessity of employing a language which will assist the country to break free of South African domination:

Namibian law is at present based on the Roman-Dutch system. This system is limited to southern Africa. If we maintain it, we will maintain a mainly Afrikaans-based legal system which will isolate us from the rest of the world. Moreover, Afrikaans itself will gradually die out among the majority of people. We are convinced that an autonomous Namibian legal system, using English as the language of the state, should be created (ibid.: 47).

It is no coincidence that Totemeyer, who conducted his research in Owambo in the mid-1970's, should have commented in 1978 on the declining acceptability of Afrikaans, in favour of English (see above).

Within the central and southern areas, there were, during the 1970's, coalitions of parties which attempted to forge links across traditional tribal and linguistic barriers, such as the four-party Namibia National Convention (Cowley, 1975; Totemeyer, 1978). Such groupings sought a common language which would be symbolic of their resistance to Afrikaner domination. Then, too, English was the language in which church leaders formally stated their opposition to apartheid, in written representations to the South African government, and to the world beyond. It became, too, the common language of the Windhoek-based Christian Centre, immediate precursor of the Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN). The early effectiveness of the churches' social witness, as opposed to that of political parties, is

stated by Cowley, who writes of the coalition of the major Lutheran churches: "In the Black churches, though, unity is a reality...(Their) unity puts the political parties to shame" (Cowley, 1975: 27). This unity was, amongst other means, outwardly expressed through the medium of English, although the constituent churches continue to employ a variety of vernacular languages, as well as Afrikaans, in their own worship and administration.

Although, as stated, the growing advocacy of English for national use and in education remains a partial enigma because of sparse documentation of the case, there is no doubt that it is intimately linked to the articulation of desires for independence and an end to colonialism. In the process, English has become what Eastman and Reese (1981) call an "associated language", that is, one for which many people have deep affect, even if they have acquired little proficiency in it. It has, too, continued to assume the stature of what Kjolseth terms "an overt social issue", one which has come to public consciousness from amongst the host of "covert social issues" which are present in any sphere of conflict (Kjolseth, 1978: 801).

4.6 Staging of the introduction of languages in the curriculum

At this point, it is useful to provide a brief account, with respect to Namibia, of what Ferguson (1985) refers to as the staging or timing of the introduction of various languages as school subjects in the curriculum, and as mediums of instruction. At the time of writing, black children in Namibia are taught through the medium

of the mother tongue during the first three years of school (Sub-standards A and B, and Standard 1). Then, in Standard 2, there is a switch to either Afrikaans or to English as medium of instruction, depending of the educational authority. The switch of medium is instantaneous, in all four language skills, with little specific preparation for the increased demands made by the new medium of instruction. The mother tongue is studied as a school subject throughout the lower and higher primary school phases, from Sub-standard A to Standard 5. In the case of Ndonga and Kwanyama (Wambo languages), and Lozi in the Caprivi, study of the mother tongue as subject is continued up to the level of the national school leaving certificate, in Standard 10 or the twelfth year. Here it should be noted that the appellation "mother tongue" when applied to Lozi in the Caprivi is not strictly correct, because the language is rather a lingua franca. Thus speakers of Herero, Nama-Damara, and the various languages of the Kavango do not study their mother tongues as school subjects in the secondary school.

The second language, Afrikaans or English depending on context, is introduced orally as a school subject during the first or second year of school. Reading skills are first learnt in the mother tongue, and then in the second language, usually during Standard 1. The third language, which is the official language (Afrikaans or English) which is not used as the major medium of instruction, is introduced orally as a school subject in the third year, with reading and writing taught later. In Owambo, where Afrikaans is now the third school language, it is introduced into the curriculum only in Standard 4 (the sixth year). This represents the concern of those authorities that the primary school curriculum should not

be overburdened with language study and, possibly, their political priorities i.e. de-emphasizing Afrikaans.

There is considerable anomaly in the use of the term "first and second languages". Namibian state schools follow the curriculum of the Joint Matriculation Board of South Africa, which specifies that, in order to qualify for the national school-leaving certificate, candidates must pass both English and Afrikaans as subjects. Candidates who present Afrikaans at the First Language (higher) level, must present English at the Second Language (lower) level, and vice versa. This practice, dates back to the Act of Union in South Africa in 1910, at which it was decided to inculcate bilingualism for white children by utilising the school system. Essentially, it was a concession which was agreed upon to placate the fears of Afrikaners that their language would lose speakers and influence to English. Black Namibians, who are generally first language speakers of neither English or Afrikaans, must thus prepare themselves, from the early days of their school careers, to pass these languages in the formidable First and Second Language combination. These subjects have contents which are intended for white South African children, in contexts very distant from those of most Namibians. However, speakers of Lozi, and of Kwanyama and Ndonga (in effect, all speakers of Wambo dialects), may choose to offer one of these languages at First Language level, being then required to pass only one of English or Afrikaans as Second Language. This reduces the linguistic barrier to obtaining a school-leaving certificate which is presented by having to pass a language not of the home at the very difficult First Language level. Other black Namibians, throughout the central areas, are not as fortunate. It

is the intention of the Department of National Education (Windhoek) to develop syllabi and materials which will enable Herero and Nama-Damara to be offered as First Language subjects at Senior Certificate level, but the effort is far from reaching its goal.

Apart from the effects of linguistic competence on academic success, there is a significant linguistic barrier built into the curricula of the senior primary and secondary school stages. Pupils must pass the language subjects in order to be promoted to the next school year, a practice which derives from the agreement reached at the time of the Act of Union in South Africa in 1910 (see above). At present, the only formally administered national examination is the Senior Certificate, although within its own area of control (the central areas), and by contract to other authorities, the Department of National Education in Windhoek administers system-wide examinations at the conclusion of the senior primary phase (Standard 4: the sixth year) and Standard 8 (the tenth year). There are no formal quotas of numbers of pupils who will be allowed to enter the next school phase, this being arranged on a rather ad-hoc basis with reference to the number of school places available. As the results of interviews with school principals show (see later, in the results of the research), the demand invariably exceeds the provision. Many pupils also find it difficult to proceed to a further school phase because of long distances, the difficulty of finding accommodation away from home, and poverty.

Languages loom large in the Namibian school curriculum. At primary school, black pupils study three languages - English, Afrikaans, and a vernacular - while at the same

time having to master one of the first two as medium of instruction from the beginning of the senior primary phase. Languages taken as school subjects must be passed each year in order for the pupil to be able to proceed to the next school grade. It is not uncommon to find pupils being held back one year at school because they have failed one of the language subjects, even when a sufficient aggregate of marks has been obtained to allow the pupil to proceed, were the language provision not in force. These arrangements have direct political causes, in the relations of power between the dominant white groups, as operationalized in education in both Namibia and South Africa by the Joint Matriculation Board of South Africa.

4.7 Proposals for language policy in education

Language planning in education is directly related to national language planning, particularly in developing countries where the educational system is relied on as a chief facilitator of the comprehensive and often radical policies which new nations devise to give effect to the expectations aroused by independence. It has already been noted that there is no adequate sociolinguistic database in Namibia, on the basis of which comprehensive planning can be done. The only significant attempt to date has been the survey **Aspekte van taal- en kommunikasie-aangeleenthede** in **S.W.A./Namibia** ("Aspects of language and communication matters in S.W.A./Namibia") which was published in 1982 by the Human Sciences Research Council, a state-funded agency in South Africa. This survey consists of thirteen volumes, one each for various ethnic groups as defined (e.g. Wambos, Kavangos, Damaras, Whites, Basters, etc.), with a

concluding volume which summarizes the overall findings. The survey took place during 1980, involving two thousand households, or 8457 people, who were estimated to represent 0,84% of the total population of Namibia. Only "heads of households" were surveyed; it is not explained how these were defined, nor whether their answers were considered to be adequately representative of a population where persons under the age of eighteen years comprise half of the total (cf. 1981 census) and where the rapid expansion of schooling has led to wide disparities in educational attainments, between generations.

There are a number of anomalies in this survey which bring to mind Rubin's warning that "It is important to distinguish between real and stated goals. Quite often policy-makers mask what their real goals are for quite obvious political reasons" (Rubin, 1983a:5). It is claimed that the survey represents "a research project", but no hypotheses are stated, and no reasons are given for the form and content of the questions asked. Perhaps most significantly, the survey is concerned only with attesting some aspects of the current situation - those most favourable to the linguistic status quo - and thus ignores Jernudd's dictum that planning "means explicit choices between alternative futures" (1976:17). That the HSRC survey was intended as a database for planning is explicitly acknowledged by the project leaders:

Confidential information concerning the language situation can be of great value to decision-makers and planners when they have to take decisions which affect many people... attention was given to four main areas, namely

language use and language preferences, reading proficiency and reading preferences, the medium of instruction and language teaching in schools, and patterns of radio listening (Human Sciences Research Council, Volume 1, 1982: 1-2) (translated from Afrikaans).

The foreword to the reports states only that separate volumes of results for each ethnic group were published, "upon special request of the local community leaders of the various population groups in the country" (ibid.) (translated). These leaders can only have been South African-appointed officials and ethnic homeland politicians, a suspicion given credence by the fact that the ethnic groups identified by volume of the report are identical with those established by legislation in support of South African apartheid arrangements in Namibia.

When released, the survey was housed in only three centres in Windhoek, inaccessible to the general public, and in no other parts of the country; it was published only in Afrikaans. It was, in fact, directly used in educational planning, when the project leader of the HSRC survey served as chairman of the committee which produced the language planning recommendations which formed part of the five-volume Advieskomitee vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing (AGN) educational reports, published in 1982-83. At the symposium which was held to publicise the AGN reports, in Windhoek in August 1983, the project leader supported the language recommendations by referring to findings of the HSRC report. Reference was made to "the strong fixed position of the mother tongue within each of the different tribal and language groups", and to "The

important role of Afrikaans, not only as a home language, as medium of instruction and as national lingua franca, but also as the one language through which by far the majority of the population can be reached" (Prinsloo, 1983:5). The HSRC survey gives striking evidence of the correctness of Bechhofer's assertion that "What we 'observe' will depend on some implicitly held theory about the world" (1974:72). The thirteen volumes of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) reports contain a wide range of data. This data is open to broad interpretation, in the absence of any meaningful statement of the purposes for which the survey was undertaken, in ignorance of hypotheses, and without any insight into the actual questionnaires, or into the methods which were employed. Space permits reference only to the findings of that part of the survey which was concerned with choices of medium of instruction in schools, which are immediately relevant to this study. The choices expressed by parents for mediums of instruction, summarised country-wide, were:

TABLE 4: MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION PREFERENCES COUNTRY-WIDE

	<u>Lower primary</u>	<u>Higher primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>
Afrikaans	40,7%	39,9%	38,0%
English	30,2%	46,4%	53,9%
German	6,6%	8,1%	10,2%

All of the vernacular languages which are currently used as mediums of instruction were also cited, but none returned higher than 10% for any of the three school phases. It is obvious that a wide range of languages was

either presented to, or allowed to, the respondents, probably to mute the effect of the anticipated preference for English medium. It is also significant that the section of the HSRC survey which was concerned with mediums of instruction was the only one in which **future** choices were attested, and in which reasons for choices were elicited. Only a small range of choices was presented, also probably to conceal the real reasons for which respondents desired a change in language policy. The major reasons given for their choice by those who desired Afrikaans-medium was that the language was found in the home, community or immediate environment; for English-medium, overwhelmingly, that it was the language of the future.

Useful comparison can be made between the medium of instruction preference results for Owambo-speakers, and the results for speakers of Herero and of Nama-Damara. The former linguistic group comprises at least half of the population of Namibia, being mainly resident in the north; the latter two linguistic groups are primarily resident in the central and southern areas. It will be seen that home language speakers of Nama-Damara comprise 42.3% of the teachers who were interviewed in the survey which forms the basis of my research, and speakers of Herero a further 24.8% (see later chapters.). Thus, speakers of these two languages comprised the overwhelming majority (67.1%) of respondents in my survey. Other significant groups of teachers in my survey, by home language, were: Owambo languages-11.2%; Afrikaans-9.3%; Tswana-6.8%.

The Human Sciences Research Council (1982) language survey report displayed different tables of results for,

respectively, Wambos, Damaras and Hereros resident inside and outside of the South African-established tribal reserve areas. In respect of preferences for mediums of instruction in education, in each case the reports warn that there may have been a quite substantial degree of confusion amongst respondents concerning the terms "medium of instruction" and "school subject", which makes the validity of the data doubtful.

For Wambos, only the medium of instruction preferences for those resident inside the Wambo area will be cited here, as those outside comprised only 18,57% of the group total, according to HSRC report.

TABLE 5: MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION PREFERENCES INSIDE OWAMBO

	<u>Lower Primary</u>	<u>Higher Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>
Afrikaans	21,2%	19,1%	18,7%
English	34,5%	59,7%	64,4%
Kwanyama	23,7%	14,8%	8,6%
Ndonga	<u>19,8%</u>	<u>5,0%</u>	<u>7,2%</u>

(In the case of all tables given here, only those languages showing 10% or more in any one school phase are cited.)

Bearing in mind the warning that the results are probably of doubtful validity, certain clear trends are

discernible: Afrikaans is little favoured in any of the school phases, the two major vernacular dialects are supported in decreasing measure through the three school phases, and English has wide and increasing support through these three phases. This survey was conducted in 1980, one year before the Wambo authority took the decision to switch from Afrikaans- to English-medium in the higher primary and secondary school. It would appear that the decision was based on significant attitudinal trends amongst the general population. Also of significance is the slender support given to Afrikaans as medium of instruction, in spite of it having been implemented in the mid-1960's with the introduction of Bantu Education.

In reporting the medium of instruction preferences of Damara parents as cited in the HSRC report, it useful to discuss findings for those living both inside and outside Damaraland. This case, perhaps more starkly than any other, reveals the ideological presumptions of separate development in Namibia. According to the HSRC survey, in 1980 only 25,63% of all those persons classified as "Damara" resided in Damaraland. Yet in 1981 an ethnic election was held, in which all "Damaras" were eligible to vote for a representative authority for the area, while at the same time being denied a vote for any authority which might exercise power in the actual area where they lived and worked. The apartheid race classification system is arbitrary in the extreme, in the case of "Damaras" and others being based on home language, and then only partially, because there is very little linguistic difference between those classified as "Damara" and those classified as "Nama". It is practices such as these which add additional weight to the

disfavour in which vernacular languages are held, in spheres which have to do with provision by the state.

TABLE 6: MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION PREFERENCES INSIDE DAMARALAND

	<u>Lower Primary</u>	<u>Higher Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>
Afrikaans	47,1%	50,0%	44,1%
German	0	14,7%	23,5%
English	17,7%	38,2%	64,7%
Nama-			
Damara	64,7%	32,4%	8,8%

TABLE 7: MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION PREFERENCES OUTSIDE DAMARALAND

	<u>Lower Primary</u>	<u>Higher Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>
Afrikaans	36,4%	36,3%	44,9%
German	3,4%	6,5%	13,1%
English	18,8%	29,3%	33,8%
Nama-			
Damara	69,4%	57,3%	52,6%

In both tables, it is notable that there is marked preference for the vernacular as medium of instruction in the lower primary school. Another significant feature is the large preference for English as medium in the secondary school, as expressed by parents residing inside Damaraland. Such sentiments undoubtedly gave impetus to the decision in principle taken by the Executive Committee of the Damara Legislative Assembly in 1984, to replace Afrikaans- by English-medium instruction in

schools in Damaraland. This decision has, as yet, been given very little practical effect.

The majority of those classified as "Damara" reside in the educational area over which the Windhoek-based Department of National Education has authority, as evinced by the large number of Nama-Damara-speaking teachers who featured in the sample for my research (as stated earlier, 42,3% of the total number of respondents). Analysis of the results of the research will show, in later chapters, that there are large disparities between the preferences of the teachers in 1986, and those reported for the parents in the 1980 HSRC survey. These disparities are particularly noticeable in the substantial rejection by the teachers in my survey of the vernaculars as mediums of instruction in any school phase, and the very strong preference for English in the secondary school. Since there is no evidence that teachers do not, by and large, reflect the opinions of their local communities, it must be concluded either that the HSRC survey of 1980 was inaccurate, or that opinion has become markedly less conservative in the intervening period. It is also quite possible that teachers themselves have led a swing in opinion on the question of language policy in the schools.

The results of the Herero survey are also presented differentially, for those residing inside and outside Herero reserve areas. According to the HSRC survey report, the latter comprised 29,61% of the total of those classified "Herero" in 1980.

TABLE 8: MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION PREFERENCES IN HERERO AREAS

	<u>Lower Primary</u>	<u>Higher Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>
Afrikaans	50,4%	53,6%	42,3%
German	9,1%	23,2%	36,2%
English	47,3%	72,4%	82,8%
Herero	48,3%	33,7%	24,0%

TABLE 9: MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION PREFERENCES OUTSIDE HERERO AREAS

	<u>Lower Primary</u>	<u>Higher Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>
Afrikaans	28,9%	34,6%	38,5%
German	8,2%	15,7%	15,9%
English	45,6%	48,4%	61,9%
Herero	66,0%	48,5%	41,5%

The populations whose preferences are reported in Tables 7 and 9 are within the area in which my survey was conducted amongst teachers in 1986. It will be seen that there are significant disparities between the results shown in the tables, particularly in respect of the support given to English as a medium of instruction. These disparities are not reflected in my survey, as shown later. However, it must be borne in my mind that my survey was only conducted amongst teachers, and not amongst parents.

Unfortunately, as has been noted, the results of the HSRC survey must be treated with caution, because of the apparent confusion amongst respondents in respect of the distinction between "medium of instruction" and "school subject", and because of the latitude allowed to

respondents, reflected in the fact that horizontal and vertical total "percentages" in the tables in most cases tally well over 100%. At the most, it would seem that the Human Sciences Research Council survey, published in 1982, can be consulted only for evidence of certain broad trends which were, or might have been, current at the time.

The connections between the 1958 Commission of Enquiry into Non-White Education in South West Africa, and the 1982 Human Sciences Research Council language survey, are superficially quite tenuous. As noted, the latter was concerned only with linguistic matters and then not only educational, language issues, while the former was exclusively concerned with education in its broadest provisions. Nevertheless, in spite of being conducted twenty-four years apart, both are written within a framework of ethnically-fragmented educational authorities, and both are concerned to emphasise the strong position of the vernaculars and the fixed place of Afrikaans as lingua franca. These major observations of the HSRC report were given educational relevance by the chief compiler of the HSRC report, when he later served as chairman of the language committee of the 1982-83 AGN commission (see below). It may thus be inferred that the HSRC report, while not making specific recommendations in respect of any aspect of language planning, was directly intended to strengthen the hands of the colonial authorities in these matters. It will, however, be seen that there are evident tensions between language planners, who tend to adhere to a purist Christian National approach, and other planners in the educational sphere who allocate less importance to the mother tongues as instruments of ideology.

As reported in the previous chapter, in 1982 and 1983 the five-volume Advieskomitee vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing (AGN) report was published in Windhoek, having been commissioned by the Department of National Education. This report, **Onderzoek na die Onderwys in SWA/Namibie** ("Investigation into Education"), give specific attention to language policy in education in Volume 4.

The major recommendations of the AGN (1982) report were that the vernaculars should be used as mediums of instruction, up to the end of the higher primary school phase, if possible. Difficulties with the strange medium of instruction (English or Afrikaans) were held to be responsible to a large extent for failures in school, and it was recommended that these languages should be gradually and carefully phased-in as mediums of instruction. The case for mother tongue education was based on arguments in support of the personal benefits which would accrue, along with psychological benefits, and the necessity of allowing each language its fullest possible development (an aspect of the so-called "linguistic" argument). These factors are those which are commonly cited by supporters of mother tongue-medium education, as is shown in later chapters, and were derived in part from a study of sources which were sympathetic to the case. At a symposium to publicise the findings of the AGN Commission, which was held in Windhoek, both the chairman and secretary of the language sub-committee strongly supported the maximum possible use of mother tongue medium education, followed by Afrikaans-medium (Prinsloo, 1983; Zimmermann, 1983). Support for English-medium was rejected as being politically-motivated, and therefore not of consequence as an educational issue; rejection of the mother tongue

was said to be the result of ignorance, poor teacher training, and the inadequate state of development of the vernaculars. Most surprisingly, the report of the central committee of the AGN enquiry, charged with making final recommendations, overturned the proposals of the language committee. It was stated that it appeared to be desirable to introduce English- or Afrikaans-medium as soon as possible, from the earliest school years, "in order to combat the accumulated deficiencies which result from the medium of instruction" (AGN, Volume 5, 1983:93) (translated from Afrikaans). No reasons were given for this radical rejection of the lengthy recommendations of the language committee. It may be presumed, from discussions with Departmental officials, that the recommendations reflected the impatience of many officials with the slow pace of production of vernacular texts by the Bureau for Indigenous Languages, originally established in 1964 in consequence of the recommendations of the Commission of Enquiry into Non-white Education (1958), and incorporated into the department of National Education when it was established in 1978. The perennial difficulties of finding competent staff for the Bureau, and the high costs attached, are also known to cause impatience amongst educational planners. Another factor in the recommendation of the AGN central committee was probably their perception that opinion was running strongly against the promotion of vernacular languages in education. More generally, there is a strong connection between a recommendation such as that made by the central committee of the AGN, and the position of the AGN reports within apartheid reformism. This issue will be discussed later.

In fact, the large enterprise that resulted in the

production of the five volumes of the 1982-83 AGN reports, and their substantial number of recommendations, resulted in very little implementation. Many of the recommendations concerned the centralisation of educational functions and decision-making, a tendency strongly resisted by South Africa, which has consistently promoted the delegation of functions to ethnic authorities under Law A.G.8. It should, however, be noted that the AGN central committee, while recommending centralisation of functions, avoided comment on macro-political matters.

In 1985 the Education Committee report, **Recommendations for a national education policy objectives and strategies**, was produced in Windhoek (see Chapter Three). Written in haste, it was the first report commissioned by the newly-installed Transitional Government. While relying on many of the technical observations and recommendations of the AGN report, the Education Committee (1985) report reflected the desire of the Transitional Government to assume strong centralised powers in the face of the significant regional power bases which have been developed under the ethnic system by parties such as those of Kalangula in Owambo and Justus Garoeb in Damaraland. Both proclaim support for United Nations-supervised independence under Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978, and both have informal, ambiguous alliances with SWAPO. These stances are anathema to the parties which comprise the uneasy alliance of the Transitional Government, which seeks maximum power and legitimacy on its own terms. In the event, the Education Committee report was a major attempt to achieve these aims in the educational sphere - an attempt which has hitherto been frustrated by South Africa's refusal to allow the abandonment of law A.G.8,

and its insistence on the maintenance of minority rights. It is in respect of the mutual rejection of ethnically-fragmented educational control in Namibia that the AGN and Education Committee reports have a basic, common agreement. Although specifically commissioned to better facilitate educational provision under just such a system, the AGN report concludes that conditions under law A.G. 8 create "one of the most difficult situations imaginable" (AGN Volume 5, 1983:5). This comment reflects, amongst others, the frustrations of officials of the Department of National Education which, although established as a "national" department prior to the proclamation of law A.G.8, is only able to exercise co-ordinating and centralising functions at the request of ethnic governments. To many of these officials, this situation is a professional affront, as well as being administratively, technically and financially extremely wasteful. A basic disagreement is reflected in this situation: to South Africa, the system of ethnic governments, duplicating its own "homeland" system, is essential for ideological control, while to local officials in Namibia and to the Transitional Government, control can best be maintained by strong centralisation.

The Education Committee (1985) report devotes little space to questions of language in education, although it does recommend as one of its fourteen national policy aspects that "The most effective medium for concept development is the mother language" (1985: 33). In this, it specifically gives priority to psychological and linguistic considerations as the foundation of language policy in education, as did the AGN report (Volume 4) before it. However, it recognizes the technical problems faced in implementing mother tongue medium, as well as socio-political objections, by qualifying its

recommendation with these words: "mother tongue should be applied as far as is practicable" (ibid). It allows freedom of choice to parents and individuals in respect of medium of instruction, but imposes an important limitation: "taking into account the particular demands of language skills" (ibid.:34). This accords with the wider terms of another recommendation on a key national policy aspect, that of "The right of freedom of association", where it is stated that the right to choose a school is limited by factors such as school-readiness, medium of instruction policy, " and any further conditions imposed by the local controlling body of the particular school" (ibid.: 31). These recommendations appear to conflict with the policy desired by Namibians who reject proposals that a school should be allowed to exclude pupils on grounds of language deficiency. Rather, they require that their children's development in the language (or languages) of wider communication should be actively and vigorously promoted, **irrespective** of proficiency upon entrance (cf. Namibia Educational Forum, 1983). In general, it may be said that the language recommendations of the Education Committee (1985) clearly reflect its reformist approach. It accepts unquestioningly the arguments of Bantu Education and the AGN report, i.e. the paramouncy of psychological, pedagogical and linguistic factors in determining language policy in education, even although the relevance of these aspects in these (or similar) contexts has not necessarily been validated by research. The report also seeks to allow existing patterns of control to be preserved to a large extent by permitting pupils to be excluded from schools on the grounds of inadequate language development. It is obvious that permitting controlling bodies to exclude pupils on school

-readiness, linguistic, or other grounds would perpetuate present patterns of ethnic and group control of education, even if only at a sub-regional level. Thus, in effect if not in intention, the employment of language as a selection criterion which is proposed by the Education Committee (1985) is strikingly similar to the practices of Christian National Education.

The publication **Towards a language policy for Namibia** (United Nations Institute for Namibia, 1981) advocates the use of English both as official language and as the major medium of instruction in an independent Namibia. In this, it supports the official position of SWAPO of Namibia. This publication finds that English best meets the criteria for the official language of Namibia on the grounds of qualities such as promotion of unity, acceptability, and others, and thus merits earnest consideration as the major language of education. Its recommendations are qualified by the recognition that, in similar conditions elsewhere, the promotion of a language of wider communication has frequently given rise to linguistic elites, unfamiliarity of many people with the language, and possible retardation of the growth of a national, African-centred identity. Although it emphasises that local languages will also have a place in an "overall multilingual language planning policy" (ibid.:v), **Towards a language policy for Namibia** in essence reflects the truth of Reagan's statement, referred to earlier, that "the real controversy in the language planning debate in Southern Africa has been between those who advocate the adoption of English as the official language and those who advocate the continued maintenance of Afrikaans (in general alongside English)" (Reagan, 1983: 88).

In support of these proposals, the **Report on the Seminar on the English Language Programme for Namibians** (SWAPO and Commonwealth Secretariat, 1983) states that SWAPO's policy implies "a major role for English in the education system, both as a subject and as a medium of instruction" and affirms that "all languages of Namibia have a role to play in society and in the education system" (ibid.: 19-20). It recommends the introduction of English as a school subject at the earliest possible stage, and also proposes a gradual transition to the use of English as a major medium of instruction, in order to ensure proficiency (ibid.: 21). **Towards a language policy for Namibia** reflects the general position of SWAPO in its strong advocacy of English as the sole official language of Namibia (see earlier), and as the medium of instruction in higher school grades. Amongst its numerous supporters and dependents in refugee and resettlement camps outside Namibia, SWAPO's literacy courses aim at proficiency in both a vernacular language and in English; literacy is defined as:

...the ability, to read and write one's own language and also to speak, read and write sufficient English for participation in National life and in further adult education or vocational training programmes (Namibia Refugee Project, 1985: 9).

The language planning done by SWAPO and related bodies, such as the United Nations Institute for Namibia in Lusaka, is unambiguous in its advocacy of English for higher-status functions in an independent Namibia.

In regard to language in education, **Towards a language policy for Namibia** does not make specific recommendations, but rather provides a number of options. Under the heading of "The medium of instruction dilemma",

the publication weighs up considerations in favour of the employment of the mother tongues as mediums of instruction, against those which favour the language of wider communication, English. For the former, the arguments are based on psychological, pedagogic and linguistic criteria; in the case of the latter, on political, socioeconomic and financial criteria. At this point, it may be commented that, as discussed later, these are the common criteria which are employed in similar contexts, wherever the medium of instruction question is debated (cf. Larson, 1981: 15-23). The UNIN publication notes that the choice of the medium(s) of instruction in an independent Namibia depends not only on the above criteria, but essentially on the structure and purpose of the educational system. A fundamental question concerns the purpose of universal basic education, whether it is to be regarded as self-sufficient for the majority of its products, or whether considerable resources will be devoted to the preparation of a certain proportion of pupils for secondary education. In this connection, it is the conclusion of the authors that "the most difficult decision appears to be the one concerning basic education medium; with English upgraded as the official language, there is less likely to be a major problem at secondary level" (ibid.: 66).

Towards a language policy for Namibia presents these four language options for lower primary education:

1. Local language as medium and subject, and English phased in as subject.
2. Local language as medium and subject, and English as subject.
3. Local language as medium and subject for two years,

then English as medium; both local language and English as subjects.

4. English as medium and subject, and local language as subject (ibid.: 92-93).

In the case of the higher primary phase, three options are presented: numbers (2) and (4) above, and "Mixed medium - local language and English - both also as subjects" (ibid.: 94). For the secondary school phase, it proposes the options of full English medium, with both local language and English as subjects, and the "mixed medium" arrangement, as above (ibid.: 96).

As stated, the UNIN publication presents options, rather than making definite recommendations. However, from a reading of the authors' discussion of the import and implementability of the options, it appears that both extremes are less favoured, these being an extended period of only mother tongue medium (up to six years), and the initial and sole employment of English medium. For the authors of **Towards a language policy for Namibia**, the most realistic choices would seem to lie in the middle ground, broadly mother tongue medium for two to four years followed by English medium, or the "mixed medium" approach.

In summarising this section, which has concerned proposals for language policy in education in Namibia which have been made during the 1980's, three broad underlying philosophies may be identified:

1. Christian National Education.
2. Reformism under South African control.
3. Progressive modernism and nation-building.

The first and third of these exemplify what Berger terms the conflict between the imperialistic and modernising points of view: "two competing models of theoretical understanding ...seeking to explain the facts of the wealth and poverty of nations" (Berger, 1974: 27). Christian Nationalism is classically imperialistic, in its advocacy of political control exercised by, and for the benefit of, an exclusive and demarcated minority, who are informed by the myths of superiority and beneficent guardianship over those who are less favoured. Accordingly, Christian National Education propounds as an absolute necessity the strict educational separation of racial and cultural groups, as it defines them, together with the educational maintenance of each group's language - a natural and divinely-ordained cultural marker - as well as acquaintance with the language of power. For the advocates of progressivism and modernisation, however, as exemplified in **Towards a language policy for Namibia** (UNIN, 1981) and related publications, the chief criteria which should inform the provision of education and language policies are those of nationalism, common loyalty, centralisation and integration of functions, and equalisation of opportunities and of access to resources.

The problematical middle ground, that of apartheid reformism, is occupied by the reports of the Advieskomitee vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing (AGN) (1982-1983) and the Education Committee (1985). In the reformist phase, currently being experienced in South Africa and in Namibia, the philosophical criteria of Christian Nationalism and of apartheid in its pure conception, have yielded political place to a primary concern with state security. Consequently, members of the oppressed and disaffected populations are being incorporated into the

administrative and governmental structures, but not to such an extent that the power base or the benefits accruing to the white population are at risk. There is, indeed, active encouragement of the formation of new elites who will support and bolster the existing hegemony; to secure their support, and to provide them with the means of garnering support themselves, it is necessary to abolish or to ameliorate the more provocative aspects of the apartheid system, and, indeed, as far as possible to provide the appearance of common cause. In this respect, the report of the Advieskomitee vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing (AGN) (1982-83) provides major indications of reformist directions, in its avoidance of discussion of philosophical or overtly political criteria, and in its extensive reliance on data and on technicist considerations. The reformist basis of the AGN central committee, it may be strongly suspected, accounts for the summary dismissal of the extensive work of its own sub-committee on language in education, as contained in Volume 4 of the AGN report. By this is meant that the central committee, realising the unpopularity of the Christian National-type recommendations of its language sub-committee and the highly visible and contentious nature of the language dispute in Namibia, chose not to antagonise black groups and ethnic authorities whose co-operation was hoped for in implementing the AGN's recommendations.

The Education Committee (1985) report, written three years after the AGN proposals, chooses to articulate the philosophy of apartheid reformism, adopting in part the language of nationalism and modernisation in its recommendations on the need to develop common loyalties, to concede the right of freedom of association, and to inculcate "democratic" practices. Its language

recommendations are marked by the direct elaboration of the psychological, pedagogic and linguistic criteria which have conventionally been employed by Christian Nationalists and which provide an apparently "scientific" rationale for their practices, along with recommendations which allow local authorities to exercise selective control, on linguistic and other grounds. In respect of its language recommendations, as in most other respects, the Education Committee (1985) report is marked by what Melber characterizes as "a mystifying vagueness of terms and references, opening the way for different interpretations in most cases" (Melber, 1987: 134). The purpose of this is, in Melber's opinion, that "in their vagueness they seem to be acceptable to most social forces involved in the conflict over Namibia's decolonisation and the future course" (ibid.: 135). This is the essential method of reformism in the current phase: to employ the means of dissimulation and incorporation, while maintaining the ends of hegemony intact. Significantly, the Education Committee report maintains ambiguity on the question of whether English or Afrikaans should be the major medium of instruction, recognizing the pronounced symbolic significances attached to these languages by those who contend for political control in Namibia. It is, however, quite obvious that the symbolism and affect of English are now so pronounced that even South African-inclined parties are advocating English-medium instruction, and wider use of English generally, in order to enhance their legitimacy in the eyes of Namibians.

CHAPTER FIVE: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO NAMIBIA.

This chapter enquires into the basis on which language decisions are taken in multilingual settings, and then attempts the crucial question of what determines the selection and ordering of languages in education. It is written within the context of earlier chapters of this work where, as will have been seen, major issues have developed which include: the selection and ordering of national language priorities; the relationship between these and language policy in education; the mother tongue versus language of wider communication debate, in multilingual situations; the best pattern of sequencing and ordering languages in the curriculum, in any one context; and whether or not there are normatively correct operational factors which apply to language practices in education, irrespective of particular contexts. This chapter thus seeks to investigate these issues within theoretical perspectives as attested in the literature, and in particular seeks scientifically reputable opinion which may illuminate these emotionally-regarded and politicised issues, as manifested in Namibia and universally.

5.1 National language decisions.

Questions of language education policies are inseparable from wider issues of education in general, and these in turn must be reviewed within their social, political and economic contexts. Education does, of course, essentially aim to influence and regulate individual

behaviour but, as Bull correctly argues

What is best for the child psychologically and pedagogically may not be what is best for the adult socially, economically or politically and, what is even more significant, what is best for both the child and the adult may not be best or even possible for the society which, through its collective efforts, provides the individual with the advantages he cannot personally attain. It would seem appropriate, as a consequence, to contemplate the fact that while getting educated is a personal matter, in contrast, providing a modern education is a social enterprise (Bull, 1964: 528) (originally published in 1954).

This is especially true in those developing countries which, faced as they are with diversity and the lack of common traditions, perceive it to be vital to their interests to cultivate nationalism and joint loyalties. For this, rapid development is regarded as essential, in order to provide citizens with rewards greater than those which can be attained by the cultivation of group-particular loyalties (Paulston, 1985). It is by now well documented that schools are believed to be prime instruments in effecting nationistic and developmental goals, although, as was shown in Chapter Three, some observers have latterly analysed what they regard as the failure of education to attain these goals: "schools are remarkably clumsy instruments for inducing prompt large-scale changes in underdeveloped areas" (Foster, 1977: 357). Nevertheless, whatever the perceptions of planners, of social scientists and of others, it is undoubtedly true that many private citizens continue to

regard education as a direct means towards social and material improvement.

National language policy has become a cause célèbre in Namibia; the urgency of the debate is equally encountered on the educational level as well. Language decisions are considered to have great impact on the successful attainment of national goals, such as integration, centralisation and modernisation. Once these language decisions have been taken they normally have immediate implications for education, which tends to be regarded as a major channel for implementing national policies which have socially regulatory intentions. In Kennedy's words, "Much policy implementation is achieved through the teacher" (comment by Kennedy attached to Paulson, 1983: 67). Thus, the selection, ordering and content of languages in education cannot be considered apart from political considerations.

Language Planning, which has been given impetus as a field of enquiry by the urgency with which language solutions have been sought by developing countries since the mid-1960's, offers valuable insights into the considerations which underlie national language selections. Rubin has defined the discipline as follows: "Language planning focuses upon the solutions to language problems through decisions about alternative goals, means and outcomes to solve these problems" (Rubin, 1971: 218). In one of the better-known definitions, Fishman subsequently defined Language Planning in these words:

...government policy decisions

concerning which language should be assigned or recognized for which purposes within a country or region as well as the various implementation (enforcing, motivating, influencing) steps taken to support the policy... (Fishman, 1977a: 36)

Previously Jernudd had directed attention not only to the concern of Language Planning with national issues, but also to its intrinsic nature as a social science when he asserted that good planning should recognize "the expressed preference of a defined political community" (Jernudd, 1973: 12).

During the 1960's, attention was devoted almost entirely to what might be called language development or intra-lingual concerns, such as standardisation and vocabulary expansion. These concerns were partly the product of the large amount of linguistic endeavour that was being put into languages which had not previously had higher status, e.g. the promotion of Swahili in Tanzania, and Pilipino in the Phillipines, as national languages after independence. However, by the early 1970's this type of linguistic activity had been termed "corpus planning", and it had been contrasted with "status planning", which was attracting increasing attention. Fishman, for instance, defined the relationship as "efforts to alter and improve the language per se whose status is the object of policy decisions and implementation attempts" (Fishman, 1977a: 36). Corpus planning is now recognized as a discrete and subordinate type of language activity and, whereas its principles and procedures are considered to be quite well-established, this cannot be stated with confidence about allocation decisions:

The problems related to status planning are not so clearly defined and seem to entail a greater degree of complexity...We are in a pretheoretical state, prior to the various concepts, laws, theories... The future foundation of language planning depends on our greater understanding of status and policy issues, so that we may separate objective knowledge... from partisan inclinations and ideological sympathies (Cobarrubias, 1983a: 5-6).

The change in the focus of attention in Language Planning, from the technical concerns of corpus planning to the social emphases of status considerations, has paralleled the increasing rejection by sociolinguistics of an approach which would continue to apply only purely linguistic criteria to the study of language: "language **actively symbolizes** the social system, representing metaphorically in its patterns of variation, the variation that characterizes human cultures" (Halliday, 1978: 3) (his emphasis). It is paralleled, too, by the growing insistence that language in school programmes should not be treated as an independent variable, as hitherto, but also as an intervening variable (Cummings, 1984; Edwards, 1984; Paulston, 1978, 1982, 1985; Mackey, 1984; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981).

As the opinions of Cobarrubias (1983) quoted above suggest, Language Planning is in search of its theoretical foundations. A short digression is in order to discuss the matter, because it has immediate applicability to the research design of this study. Language planning for status allocation is now recognized as one more type of national social planning; it is acknowledged that such efforts

...frequently involve attempts to alter or regulate in some measure aspects of individual and group behaviour, and social relationships...they entail the modification or manipulation of values, beliefs and sentiments (Gorman, 1973: 74)

With reference to the discussion of policy and implementation in Chapter One, such policies can be termed "socially regulatory", in contrast to more technical policies which seek to distribute goods and services (Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979b:4). As was shown, policy itself has the nature of a sociological theory: "If X under conditions Y, then Z" (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973; Williams, 1975; Van Horn, 1979; Hill, 1980). Such social theorising is inherently difficult because "in no area of social inquiry has a body of general laws been established, comparable with the outstanding theories in the natural sciences..." (Nagel, 1961: 447). Social policy-theory making attempts to rest on expected patterns of cause and effect, of which an essential condition is the recognition that in social action "true causal explanations cannot be formulated unless intentions, motives and reasons are taken into account" (Macintyre, 1973: 28). These are very difficult to establish because experimentation and controlled investigation are seldom possible, and because what Fay terms "constitutive meanings" ("shared assumptions, definitions and conceptions") frequently remain unclear to the actors themselves and are, in addition, very resistant to discovery (Fay, 1975: 16). Under these difficult conditions, Language Planning does remain in a "pretheoretical state", as Cobarrubias has said. The attainments of the discipline until now have consisted of

country case-studies, of accounts of the sort of data which are necessary for the taking of decisions, and of attempts to outline the stages or events of which language planning ideally consists.

Ferguson (1985) has conveniently summarised the consensus of opinion on the latter matter, as derived from a study of the literature. He identifies the four procedural stages of planning as follows: fact-finding, policy determination, implementation, and evaluation, which is defined as "a process of assessing and monitoring developments at all stages of the planning programme..." (Ferguson, 1985: 29). (See also Cooper, 1979.) It is the first stage, fact-finding, which is not only necessary for rational planning, but which, being expensive and time-consuming, is often not done in many contexts. (As has been seen, very little of this type of work has been done in Namibia.) Ferguson asserts that

...surveys relevant to Language Planning typically operate at a macro-sociolinguistic level of observation and are concerned with describing what language varieties are spoken and understood in a given geographical area, in what contexts, for what purposes, and more problematically what attitudes are held towards those language varieties (Ferguson, 1985: 27).

The last is a crucial aspect of enquiry, and one which was hardly attempted by the only notable sociolinguistic survey to have been conducted in Namibia, that by the Human Sciences Research Council (1982). (See chapter Four.) Attitudes and motivations towards languages are

particularly important in fluid and rapidly-changing situations, where language spread and language shift may take place quite rapidly. Cooper (1982) has provided a useful "scale of behavioural pervasiveness", which applies to the spread of a second language of wider communication:

1. Awareness: people learn that the language exists and can (or should) be used for certain functions;
2. Evaluation: people form attitudes towards the personal usefulness of the language;
3. Proficiency: the speaker is able to use the language for particular purposes;
4. Use: the speaker does use the language for a particular function (or functions).

It will be contended that Cooper's "scale of behavioural pervasiveness" can illuminate the condition of English in Namibia, which may be widely placed on the second level, i.e. evaluation. Under such conditions, a sociolinguistic survey which only attests actual, synchronic patterns of use and spread, and not attitudes and intentions, will fail to provide an adequate database for planning which, as Jernudd reminds us, "means explicit choices between alternative futures" (Jernudd, 1976: 17) (my emphasis). Planning must be a sensitive and ongoing activity - "There seems to be no beginning and no end to the process..." (Rubin, 1983b: 339) - which must be part of other social changes and must, therefore, "relate to continuing values and attitudes" (Rubin, 1983a: 14).

5.2 National language decisions: contexts and considerations

As Cooper's four-stage scale of behavioural pervasiveness

shows, evaluation of a language is generally done in terms of the expected benefits to the user. While people do, of course, learn languages for private reasons, it is generally true that the anticipated benefits are social and material in nature, and that languages have to be evaluated as capable of delivering quite substantial rewards before potential consumers move from the stage of evaluation, to proficiency or use, i.e. in order for language spread and/or language shift to take place (Brosnahan, 1963; Fishman, Cooper and Rosenbaum, 1977). Fishman is correct when he observes that "Languages are rarely acquired for their own sake. They are acquired as keys to other things that are desired" (1977b: 115). In her reflections on the spread of *lingua francas* in Africa, Scotton has shown that language spread requires far more than simply positive evaluations of the benefits which a language might confer, because adding linguistic proficiency is "but one piece of a socioeconomic picture puzzle" (Scotton, 1982:65). It is her opinion that citizens will change their language behaviour if they are dissatisfied with their present socioeconomic status, if they are "confident that the configuration of their lives will change, triggered off by the adding of the *lingua franca*" (ibid.: 85) and, complementary to those two factors, if they assess that they already possess sufficient of the requisite qualities and skills for the addition of a new language to make a difference, e.g. they already have the necessary education, personal characteristics, mobility, etc. Under these circumstances, if positively assessed, a language may spread if a society possesses enough resources to provide tangible rewards, and also the inclination "to distribute these resources equitably" (ibid.: 89). (See also Weinstein, 1983.)

If a majority of a population does not acquire a language which clearly yields status and material benefits to some people, it may be taken as a sure sign of social inequity. Fishman quite properly warns that great social strains will result if elite groups do not foster "widespread and stable bilingual speech communities" (Fishman, 1972b: 143). As Pattanayak says, even the illiterate common man can quite clearly see what economic opportunities are presented by competences in various languages (Pattanayak, 1981b: 24). The vital questions are whether or not the political system provides opportunities and access to aspirants and, in respect of language, the extent to which the necessary linguistic resources can be acquired.

The spread in Namibia of English, widely attested as "the language of the future" (refer to the HSRC (1982) language survey, and the opinions of teachers who were consulted in this research), reveals strong components of the analysis which has been outlined above. The facts are that few people, comparatively, have yet moved into the third and fourth stages of Cooper's "scale of behavioural pervasiveness"; and that English has, certainly until very recently, offered few advantages compared to Afrikaans. Yet even those who have gained benefits via their command of Afrikaans, and who by their own admission do not have much proficiency in English, such as teachers and other professionals, at present strongly advocate wider use of English. For many of these people, also by their own admission, the transition to English will mean considerable personal sacrifices, and even possible career uncertainties. Under these circumstances, it is obvious that English is advocated as a key to other things that are

desired (Fishman, above), and that the desire is strong enough to bring about deferment of present benefits. A significant proportion of the population is thus confident that wider use of English will change the configuration of their lives (Scotton, above) and, by implication, confident that the English-using future will provide greater rewards than the present.

However, future-directed expectations, especially when they are predicated upon a new political dispensation emanating from a different philosophical paradigm, are always problematical for policy-making. The dangers have already been pointed to in the analysis above, and are especially salient when the rejection of the present is so widespread. It is therefore significant that proposals for, and reflections on, future language policy in Namibia are relatively more cautious and flexible when made by parties situated outside Namibia, than when made by some groups within the country itself. To a large extent this reflects the confrontationist nature of the debate within Namibia, the lack of access to relevant research and informed opinion, and the impatient assessment of the general situation. Havelock and Huberman (1977) are correct in warning that the problems of implementation increase accordingly with the urgency and scale of the change which is to be effected (see Chapter One). The situation is exacerbated when planners, for whatever reason, do not take into account the distinction between changes in potential as opposed to actual influences which, as Lieberman remarks, may "change independently of each other and hence in opposite directions" (1981: 376).

The previous chapter showed that the urge to modernize underlies the social programmes of many Third World countries: their policies are designed "on the assumption that greater group cohesion and group loyalty will bring the attainment of modernization more quickly into reach" (Fishman, 1972a: 38). Policies are aimed at achieving "supraethnic political-operational integration" (ibid.: 32) and language decisions will be taken with these goals in mind. In many African countries, as elsewhere, the pattern which has been arrived at is that of using the imported, supra-ethnic language, e.g. English or French, for most if not all governmental and prestige functions, including its use as the major medium of education. This language is used precisely because it is supra-ethnic and thus prevents linguistic jealousies from arising; because of the advanced literature which the language possesses; because the language permits access to the world of technology, and to knowledge and skills necessary for development; and often because custom has dictated that the ex-colonial language should dominate prestige language functions. Most developing countries are characterized by what Kloss terms "promotion-orientation" in respect of the languages of wider communication, together with "tolerance-orientation" towards the vernacular languages (Kloss, 1977: 21), although there is evidence that governments are now taking active steps to ensure that the languages of wider communication, such as English, do not obtrude beyond their prescribed sociofunctional limits (Fishman, 1982). This implies that there is a growing tendency in language planning "to see the process of language allocation as a complex consideration of all language types in a nation or region" (Rubin, 1983b: 333).

Most recently-independent countries, including the majority in Africa, did not exist before the intrusion of colonial interests threw their various components together under one foreign administration and within one set of common borders. At the time of independence, the diverse elements of the new polity very often had nothing much more in common than the colonial experience and the striving to attain independence. Indigenous elite groups, however, often had more in common, including their educational experiences and the power and material benefits which they had attained under the colonial dispensation. Faced with prevailing conditions of diversity and particularism, the new leaders recognized that imperatives for survival entailed cultivating integration, common loyalties, and unity; the stability of national government was clearly seen to depend on its success in presenting the common interest of the entire population in such a way that all segments of the population can identify their own situation with it (Eckert, 1983: 289).

In his classification of Types A, B and C national language decisions, Fishman (1972b: 497) (see accompanying insert) has attempted to provide models for various types of decisions in polities with different configurations. Fishman's "Type A" ("New Developing Nations") polity applies to Namibia and to the majority of African countries: these contexts are characterised by diversity and the lack of an "integrating Great Tradition at the national level"; they are governed by "considerations of political integration" (or nationalism). In consequence, a national language will be chosen which can foster integration and which can serve as a permanent national

symbol; it will be a language of wider communication. Little formal attention will be paid to development of vernacular languages, and the state will encourage proficiency in the language of wider communication. Cultural emphases will be placed on assisting transition to new modernity or towards wider integration. It is obvious from Fishman's "Type A" analysis, which provides a useful and valid model for language planning in Namibia as well as elsewhere, that the paradigm of modernisation underlies it, as revealed by terms such as "political integration", "nationism" and "new integration". At the same time, consideration of Fishman's model serves as a reminder that language planning is only one part of a complex of national planning, and is essentially subservient to political and cultural goals. It must be remembered that there is nothing **inherently** unifying in any language, be it English or any other (cf. United Nations Institute for Namibia, 1981). Nor is there anything inherent in any language which will, *per se*, ensure that the goals of modernisation are attained.

Fishman's "Type B" polities, termed "Old Developing Nations", are characterized by "considerations of sociocultural authenticity", and hence by efforts "to modernize the traditional language, and to suit it for use as a national language". "Type C" polities ("Intermediate Developing Nations") are marked by a variety of traditions which compete for socio-political recognition. Compromises are sought between political integration and separate authenticities, with resulting regional and

INSERT

National Languages and Languages of Wider Communication in Developing Nations

<u>Factors</u>	<u>I. Type A Decisions</u>	<u>II. Type B Decisions</u>
1. <u>Perceived socio-cultural integration</u>	a. No integrating <u>Great Tradition</u> at the national level	a. <u>One Great Tradition</u> at the national level
2. <u>Selection of National language</u>	b. Governed by considerations of political integration: nationalism	b. Governed by considerations of authenticity: nationalism
3. <u>Adoption of Language of Wider Communication (LWC)</u>	c. Yes, as permanent, national symbol	c. Often transitionally: for modern functions
4. <u>Language Planning Concerns</u>	d. Minor: exonerative standardization of LWC	d. Modernization of traditional language: H or L?
5. <u>Bilingualism Goals</u>	e. Local, regional; transitional to LWC	e. National; transitional to indigenous monolingual
6. <u>Biculturism Goals</u>	f. Transitional to modernity or new integration	f. Traditional plus modern spheres
<u>Types</u>	<u>I. A-modal Nations</u>	<u>II. Uni-modal Nations</u>

Note: Type C Decisions ("Intermediate Developing Nations") have not been included here.

(Source: Fishman, 1972b:497)

national bilingualism. These features have characterized South Africa since Union in 1910, when the white minority, which consisted of two language groups, declared itself a separate nation. The pattern of bilingualism and attendant struggles which have resulted in both South Africa and Namibia still tend to obscure truly national language planning, because the policy-makers and planners are members of the minority group.

There are, and have been, situations in which groups within larger polities struggle to maintain or achieve dominance for their languages, as competently analysed in Fishman's **Language and Nationalism** (1972). The Christian Nationalism of White Afrikaners is, as has been shown, one such instance, in which a minority group struggles for power and privilege while resisting "the needs of unification (which) require the submersion of authentic local or sub-regional differences" (Eckert, 1983: 289). In such cases, language is consciously employed as "a primary instrument of social group formation" (Pattanayak, 1981b:vii) and as a marker of "self-imposed boundary maintenance" (Paulston, 1985: 10). These tendencies, of course, run directly counter to the nationistic, integrative intentions of national planners in typical "Type A" settings, and they must be understood not as being normative aspects of the human condition (as Christian Nationalists claim) but as arising from specific conditions. In general, so-called "language nationalism" is cultivated when a clearly-defined group considers its best interests to be served by separatism and particularism. Language is employed as a resource in the

struggle by such ethnic movements only if it is available and appropriate: in other words, language is not an **invariable** accompaniment of ethnic awareness or of ethnic nationalism (Paulston, 1985: 13). Religion, race, geographical situation, history, etc., may all be employed by nationalistic groups if the wider polity seems to deny such groups reasonable access to resources and benefits. What is more noteworthy, as further evidence that language is **not** an invariable concomitant of ethnicity, is that minority languages are frequently abandoned for wider communicative purposes, and do, in fact, succumb quite quickly in respect of these functions, when the minority group has access to wider and favourable social contexts. Edwards is careful to distinguish between what he terms the communicative and the private-ethnic aspects of language, stating that language in its communicative aspect is frequently abandoned in minority-majority contexts (Edwards, 1984, 1985). This point is readily appreciated by Afrikaans language planners such as Steyn, who declares that "The loss of authority over one's own affairs always implies, for a language community, more than merely a loss of higher functions such as in the civil service" (Steyn, 1980: 175), and "official recognition is necessary for the existence of a language in the modern context" (ibid.: 362) (translated from Afrikaans). For planners such as Steyn, political power and group separation are necessary conditions for the maintenance of language at all functional levels, which is considered to be a normatively-correct practice (see Chapter Three).

The condition of languages of wider communication in developing countries is commonly characterised by clear sociofunctional separation, i.e. they are used for very discrete and clearly-defined purposes, whether by decree or by custom (Fishman, Cooper and Rosenbaum, 1977). For instance, in his analysis of the spread of English in developing countries, Fishman specifically notes that the mother tongues have not been replaced where they serve intimate or ethnic purposes; instead, they exist alongside the language of wider communication, in a definite "sociofunctional separation of languages" (Fishman, 1977b: 177). Ferguson aptly summarises the situation in these words: "though the mother tongue may be valued sentimentally, it may be perceived as irrelevant instrumentally" (Ferguson, 1985: 45). Thus many multilingual developing countries have witnessed a considerable degree of language spread, but apparently very little language shift, i.e. few speakers have abandoned their mother tongues in favour of others (Paulston, 1985). Koenig, who studied language maintenance and language shift in Belize, agrees with this assessment and illuminates the situation in these words: "Although widespread bilingualism exists, it is only in **intergroup** communication that the second language is used" (Koenig, 1980: 12) (my emphasis).

In conclusion, it may be predicted that in many of the newer and multilingual nations the medium- to long-term future is likely to witness the growth of national languages, as opposed to official languages of European origin. These national languages are often cultivated deliberately, in order to express national authenticity (Fishman, 1972a), but their development can also be predicted on grounds of the fact that a comparatively small proportion of citizens in developing countries really

succeed in mastering the official language. (Bull, 1964; Scotton, 1982). This is a result of high rates of pupil erosion during the early school years, because policies, as well as material conditions, prevent many citizens from entering spheres of employment in which the official languages operate, and because these languages are seldom supported in local community environments. In consequence, it is likely that either a local vernacular or a creole will eventually arise to assume national linguistic dominance which, as Bull observes, will duplicate "the actual history of the rise of all the major European languages" (Bull, 1964: 529). It is necessary to be reminded that changes in language may be the result of many causes, of which planning is only one, and that language functions may change as a result of spontaneous historical processes (Rubin, 1983b; Cobarrubias, 1983b). As has already been stated, planning should be a sensitive and ongoing process, subject to continual evaluation; planners should not ignore Charles Ferguson's advice that:

Language policies are rarely set quickly and decisively. Like many national policies, they often develop gradually, vacillate, and are modified again even after they are thought to be final (Ferguson, 1966: 1).

5.3 Language in education: bilingual education, and possibilities

Previous sections of this study have virtually prescribed the introduction to this present section on language in education, namely, that the broad parameters of language policy in the school systems are invariably politically

determined and that, furthermore, there are in essence no questions which can be termed "purely educational". However, it will be argued later that there are certain operational spheres in which implementers should be given relative freedom to make decisions, and that the cause of education will be served best if this is permitted. Within the broad parameters set by macro-level planners, it is often wise to allow implementers such as education department officials, school principals, and teachers to make the operational choices. However, as Mackey observes (1977: 227), it is difficult to decide if one does not know what choices are possible: it will become clear that decisions in bilingual education are often difficult to make because of the tightly centralised structure of control in many countries, because of what Ferguson refers to as the "brutally instrumental view of education" which is held by many parents (1985: 45), because of the extreme conservatism and poor levels of academic knowledge of many teachers (Beeby, 1966), and because of general ignorance compounded by high levels of intense advocacy in an environment in which little research has been done. It will be contended that most planners in Namibia, as elsewhere, do not really know what choices are possible, except in the crudest sense.

It is perhaps necessary to be reminded that bilingual education is the norm for the majority of the world's school-going population, and that "ever since the beginning of formal education, total or partial schooling in a language other than that of the home has been the rule rather than the exception" (Mackey, 1978: 4). In addition, as Trudgill (1974) observes, many seemingly monolingual nations contain substantial linguistic minorities which have been, and are, in some way or other

accommodated within the linguistic components of the school systems. Currently, it is commonly considered that bilingual education problem areas are to be encountered mainly in developing countries, but it must be remembered, firstly, that these are largely the result of the historical intervention of European countries and, secondly, that Europe itself has a long and continuing history of struggles to order the linguistic components of education in a satisfactory manner. The patterns which have been derived in Europe have had an influence on the educational systems of developing countries; Szepe describes the model as follows:

In most European countries in the twentieth century it rests on the cardinal principle of the official state language, supplemented by the provision of education for linguistic minorities. It is a most instructive model and one which...has exerted a profound influence on the rest of the world (Szepe, 1983: 64).

It is important in a study of this kind to define what is meant by the term "bilingual education". William Mackey, who has provided a comprehensive typology of bilingual education in his **Bilingual education in a binational school** (1972), comments on the lack of definition which is frequently found in the literature:

Bilingual situations of entirely different patterns have unwittingly been grouped together under bilingual schools and used as a basis for research on bilingual education. This is partly because the concept of "bilingual school" has been used without qualification to cover such a wide range of uses of two languages in education.

The term "bilingual school" means many things, even within the same country, and in any discussion is likely to mean different things to different persons (Mackey, 1972: 151).

He shows that "bilingual schooling" can mean anything from a situation in which the medium of instruction is one language throughout (the home language of the pupils) with another language being studied as a school subject for some period of time, to a situation in which the medium of instruction is one language throughout, but in which that language is not the home language of the pupils. As has been shown, both such situations are to be found in Namibia at present. In some schools, home language speakers of Afrikaans and English are educated throughout through the medium of those respective languages, with the other being studied as a school subject; in a small minority of cases, speakers of other languages are educated entirely through medium of English, in "submersion" situations (see later). There are, at present, very few instances of full "immersion" situations, i.e. the pupil is educated **throughout** in a medium other than the home in company with others in a similar situation, although some parents and teachers do favour such immersion education in English. For the majority of Namibian pupils at present, the pattern is one of education through medium of the mother tongue for the first three years, followed by an abrupt switch to immersion in the second language (English or Afrikaans) at the beginning of the fourth year. From this time onwards, the second language is used as the medium of instruction for all subjects, except languages taught as

subjects. Mackey terms this pattern Dual-Medium Accultural Transfer, and describes it in these words:

This type which, for obvious reasons of power and prestige is a common type, prepares children to take the rest of their education in a language or dialect which is not dominant in the home - often a language of wider communication (Mackey, 1972: 159).

To this, as the situation most widely encountered in Namibia, must be added the element of what Mackey terms Accultural Maintenance, where "the home language or dominant home language is taught as a subject, without however being used as a medium of instruction" (ibid.: 158). In Namibia, this pertains from the fourth year onwards. It is a feature of policy which is favoured in all proposals for language policy in education in Namibia, and which leads directly to one of the hypotheses of this research (see Chapter Seven). In summary, then, the predominant bilingual curriculum pattern in Namibian schools is, to use Mackey's typology, that of Dual-Medium Accultural Transfer together with an element of Accultural Maintenance, in respect of the continued use of the mother tongue as a school subject.

The complexity of types of bilingual education may be revealed by a consideration of the criteria which Mackey (1972) used in deriving his typology. His chief criteria are: (1) the behaviour of the bilingual at home, (2) the curriculum in the school, (3) the community of the immediate area, and (4) the status of the

languages themselves. Applying these dimensions to the Namibian situation, it may be stated that the majority of learners come from monolingual homes, in which the language is not the predominant school language; this is still likely to be the case where the home is bilingual. At the community level, most Namibians are in a situation in which the predominant and national languages are not those of the area and of the home, although there are significant contexts within the central areas of Namibia where the following applies: "The national language may not be that of the home but the area may be bilingual with both the home and national languages being used" (Mackay, 1972: 163). As will be seen, this applies to a community such as Okahandja, where the pilot survey for this study was done, as well as to many of the rural boarding schools, where the pupils frequently use Afrikaans, a national language, as the language of wider communication although their mother tongues are Nama-Damara, Herero or, in minority cases, Tswana or a Wambo dialect. With respect to the fourth dimension, language status, Mackey notes that this is not only a function of the actual importance attached to the various languages in the home, school and community: "In practice, each curriculum pattern would have to be quantified for each language in terms of proportion and domain of use" (ibid.: 167). In addition, as Mackey states, similarity between languages may aid more rapid language learning. However, even this apparently objective criterion may be subject to the effects of emotion and evaluation, as exemplified by situations in

Namibia in which first-language speakers of Bantu and Khoesan languages describe English, which is of an entirely different language family, as being "pleasant-sounding", "unambiguous", and "most suitable as a language of instruction" (see later chapters of the study).

As already noted, Mackey has elsewhere propounded the simple but very instructive dictum that it is difficult for a community to decide what it wants if it has no idea of what is possible (Mackey, 1977: 227). A consideration of the four dimensions in his typology of bilingual education, with at least ten patterns which have been identified in respect of the curriculum dimension alone, will convince the observer both of the necessity for informed awareness of the parameters of what is possible and practised world-wide, as well as of the need for close descriptions of the dimensions of bilingual behaviour of the home, of the linguistic characteristics of the community and area, and of the statuses of the respective languages. This does not, however, detract from the truth of another very pertinent observation by Mackey, that models of bilingual education cannot be imported from other contexts, and that using the wrong model can be disastrous (Mackay, 1978: 6). Descriptions of the dimensions described by Mackey are seldom available, even in superficial form. In the present study, even the quite cursory discussions that have been held with teachers and school principals have revealed the different linguistic dimensions which exist

within contexts which are, superficially, very similar. These local characteristics could result in different patterns of bilingual education being developed in various areas, particularly in the early years, if educationists were aware of their existence and of their significance, and if micro-implementers (e.g. school principals) were encouraged to develop programmes in accordance with local linguistic characteristics, motivations and expectations, and in the light of what is theoretically possible. Instead, as will be seen, responses tend to be both uniform and stereotyped.

For the purposes of this study, bilingual education refers to any situation in which each of two languages is used as the medium of instruction in at least one school subject (Cohen and Laosa, 1976: 149). Ferguson notes that the principal issues in the formulation of bilingual language education policy are (a) the choice of mediums of instruction, (b) the choice of languages as subjects of instruction, and (c) the staging or timing of the introduction of the various languages into the curriculum. He also includes the choice of linguistic norms as a minor issue (Ferguson, 1985: 34). It is, further, his opinion that "Of the issues involved in the formulation of language education policy, the selection of a medium of instruction is possibly the most critical" (ibid.: 36) and that, in African and similar contexts, the choice rests between the child's mother tongue, a national or regional lingua franca, and a world language (ibid: 39). The selection of a medium of instruction is

not only critical, but also emotive and contentious, because it relates directly to political choice, and thus to the issues which were discussed in the first section of this chapter, and elsewhere.

5.4 Language in education: the mother tongue

Mother tongue education, even if only for the initial years, is an issue which arouses great passions and which has become both the object of denigration and the focus of urgent advocacy in Africa and in many other bilingual education contents. It is frequently advocated by those who favour pluralistic political dispensations, often strongly coloured by the belief that appeals to historical authenticity, of which language may be an available marker (Paulston 1985), will assist the acquisition of political and material benefits which the wider society denies. These arguments have been advanced in earlier sections of this study.

As always, the schools are regarded as a prime instrument for propagating the values and cultural cohesion which are thought to be necessary for maintaining and activating ethnicity or group loyalty as political forces. For this reason, for instance, Afrikaner Nationalists in South Africa in the 1940's advocated mother tongue education, and chose to ignore the results of experiments which showed the positive learning and social-attitudinal effects of bilingual education (Malherbe, 1978). Edwards observes correctly that

"Promoters of cultural pluralism (and maintenance-bilingual education) tend to ignore information salient to their cause..." (Edwards, 1985: 137); the reason is, obviously, that the **priorities** are political, social and economic. These expedient imperatives should not be lost sight of, even in the face of arguments with other foci, such as that "It is generally accepted that, on sound pedagogical grounds, the mother tongue is best suited as the medium of instruction" (Pattanayak, 1981a: 137) or that starting education with the systematic study of both languages has caused confusion (Aucamp, 1926: 10). Assertions such as these are widely encountered, and have been advanced for many years, but they have no universal basis in experimental proof, nor indeed in the opinions of many serious researchers in bilingual education. Fishman observes that ethnic mother tongue schools are maintained "for extra-academic reasons as much, if not more than, for academic ones" (Fishman, 1980: 12); this is aptly placed within wider context by Skutnabb-Kangas's comment that "Bilingualism can be used to prevent equality...or to create equality" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981: 237).

As has been suggested above, it will be argued that popular perceptions of the meaning of "medium of instruction", even within educational circles, are usually rather simplistic and stereotyped. The choice of medium of instruction, and "the staging or timing of the introduction of the various languages into the curriculum" (Ferguson, 1985: 34) (quoted above), are issues which are conventionally discussed in terms of the introduction of certain languages as mediums in certain

school years, with all participants in the discussion generally assuming that the only viable pattern is one in which all subjects are taught in the chosen language from the beginning of the year in which the language is introduced as medium of instruction. In other words it is the year of introduction which is the major, and usually the only, focus of debate. In addition, there is seldom any discussion of the possibility of the differential introduction of the various language skills (speaking, reading, writing, listening) in the chosen language, or of the possibility of context-specific implementations within the wider educational system. In large part, this is the product of a long history of generally uniform patterns in respect of medium of instruction policies, as may, for instance, be seen in the accounts of colonial practices in Africa in the 1920's (cf Gorman, 1968, 1970; African Education Commission, 1922; Murray, 1929).

What patterns of timing and introduction of languages in bilingual education are in fact possible? Mackey lists four basic approaches: (1) traditional, where the national language is taught just enough to permit its use as the medium of instruction; (2) monoliterate bilingualism, where both languages are used orally in the classroom, but only one is written; (3) partial bilingualism, where literacy is developed in both languages, but one is used as medium for only a limited number of subjects; (4) full bilingualism, where all subjects are taught in both languages (Mackey, 1984: 162). To the reader who is unacquainted with the literature on practices in bilingual education world-wide, some of these patterns may seem no more than

theoretical possibilities. However, it is a fact that all of them, and permutations thereof, have been, or are, employed in educational systems. Malherbe (1978), for instance, recounts the experiences of "alternating medium" and "subject medium" in the Cape Province of South Africa in the mid-1940's; the former refers to the alternation of the medium of instruction per subject on a daily basis, and the latter to the consistent use of one language for some subjects, and the other language for the remaining school subjects. The Canadian immersion classes, which began as an experimental project and are now widespread throughout that country, have employed different languages for different subjects from the first school year, and have permitted the child to employ his/her home language in class, even where it is not the language of instruction. Sibayan, reporting on the results of an extensive survey conducted in the Philippines in 1968, states that "people are willing to accept a multilingual type of instruction in which English, Philipino and the vernaculars have separate domains" and, perhaps more significantly, that "there is no subject that is exclusively taught in one language", in spite of the fact that official policy clearly prescribes single-medium practices (Sibayan, 1983: 87-88). There is, indeed widespread evidence that teachers will subvert official policy in their efforts to communicate with their students. The practice is referred to in the report of the 1958 Commission of Enquiry into Non-European Education in South West Africa (Administration of South West Africa, 1958), which reported that teachers had for many years used a substantial component of Afrikaans-medium in the early school years, even although vernacular-medium was

prescribed. A more recent account refers to Namibian teachers often using the mother tongue, where policy requires exclusive use of the second language (Zimmermann, 1984). Noss, reflecting on the situation in East Asia, states that

The term "medium of instruction" is not completely unambiguous. Sometimes it refers to oral instruction, sometimes to written, and sometimes to both... Usually, when the text material exists only in the world language, the medium of instruction is officially that language, although entire lecture periods may be devoted to explaining the text in a national language or a vernacular (Noss, 1967:41).

The practice is, in any event, honoured by time. Latin and Greek texts have for many centuries been taught and written about through medium of modern European languages, and it is quite common to find English literature, for example, being discussed in German in German-language universities.

It is from consideration of the various permutations which are possible in bilingual education, that the hypothesis regarding "mixed medium" has been derived for this research. The hypothesis is suggested by statements in various recommendations on language policy in education in Namibia, that the second language should be phased in gradually as a medium of instruction, i.e. that there should be a period during which single-medium instruction is not employed. It is also suggested by the known practices of many Namibian teachers, who will employ the vernaculars to communicate clearly, if

necessary, in spite of formal strictures on the practice. On a theoretical level, it is suggested by the successful use of more than one medium in one class period in the Canadian immersion project (see later in this chapter) and by Krashen's (1980) assertion that speech will come when the learner is ready for it. It is, further, his opinion that the known "silent period" which precedes oral production should not be violated, and that students should not be put on the defensive in a situation in which they already feel insecure (cf. also Nadkarni, 1983).

Formal ratification of the use of more than one medium of instruction in one school grade in Namibian classrooms would not only legitimize a situation which already exists - in itself, a substantial benefit - but would also be more in accord with cultural needs and psychoeducational research findings, as discussed later. It would, too, take account of the virtual absence of the second language as spoken medium in the environment of many Namibian primary school pupils, coupled with the necessity of mastering reading in that language. The question is not whether to employ the second language or the mother tongue, the one to the exclusion of the other, but rather how to employ both to best advantage within any one situation.

The classical debate on the proper use and sequencing of vernacular languages in education is that between the drafters of the monograph **The use of vernacular languages in education** (UNESCO, 1953) and William Bull, in his response (1954; reprinted 1964). The UNESCO experts provide a comprehensive account of significant

efforts to use vernaculars for modern educational purposes, up to that time, and note that only a small proportion of the world's known languages are used in schools. It is their finding that the majority of world languages have no written form, and that many lack sufficient literature to justify learning to read; only a minority have an adequate supply of textbooks. They urge that every pupil should begin his/her formal education in the mother tongue medium, and therefore recommend the rapid development of these materials. As Bull phrases it, the UNESCO drafters propose "that authorities should do everything in their power to create the conditions which will make for an ever-increasing extension of schooling in the mother tongue, and that efforts should be made to persuade an unwilling public to accept education through the mother tongue" (Bull, 1964: 528).

It is Bull's contention that the UNESCO monograph places the accent on "what is best for the child psychologically and pedagogically" (ibid.) and he does not dispute with them on these grounds. Rather, in a celebrated reply, he argues that education is a collective social effort which seeks to provide social benefits, and that language education policies must, and will, reflect these priorities. Finally, while sympathetic towards the rights of existence of minority languages, Bull argues that "the vast enterprise required to provide a modern education and to sustain a modern state cannot be carried out in excessively polyglot societies" (ibid.: 529). He favours the **reduction** of the number of languages and dialects, and advocates planning in favour of some local language becoming the dominant national language, thus

replicating "the actual history of the rise of all major European languages" (ibid.).

Bowen correctly states that Bull "does not deny the basic premise of the desirability for the individual of an education in the mother tongue" (Bowen, 1971: 107), and continues by explicating Bull's argument that all educational policies are realised as the result of choices made between available resources, which are ordered in terms of social priorities. It is Bowen's conclusion, in agreement with that of Bull, that "the choice of languages as medium (or media) of instruction for educational purposes should be determined by social conditions - not by preoccupation that the mother tongue per se be used" (ibid.: 107). This point of view accords with the conclusions reached by many other researchers in bilingual education (refer, for instance, to Cummins, 1985; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981; Spolsky, 1977). Two quotations are useful at this point, because they illustrate the points of view of many contemporary observers. Glyn Lewis is of the opinion that

Bilingual education has been advocated ostensibly for entirely pedagogic reasons, while the fundamental rationale for the proposal is to bring about greater political, economic and social equality (Glyn Lewis, 1978: 20)

and Edwards concludes that

Bilingual education is not merely, a linguistic issue...Many of the purely pedagogical features of bilingual education have assumed a larger-than-life centrality, and statistical significance is often allowed to overshadow psychological meaningfulness (Edwards, 1984: 300).

Both these writers, as well as many others, are thus of the opinion that mother tongue medium education in multilingual contexts may be favourably considered on pedagogic grounds alone, but that this factor must be weighed in the balance with a number of others, which usually assume greater prominence. Ferguson correctly concludes that "In the end one suspects that questions of value beyond the reach of empirical deliberation may have a key role in final decisions" (Ferguson, 1985: 45).

Larson (1981: 15-23) has provided a comprehensive ranked list of reasons which are commonly advanced for the use of vernacular languages in education:

(1) Psychological - the mother tongue facilitates adjustment between home and school; it assists the formation of the child's concepts and categories of thought; people are emotionally attached to the mother tongue; use of the prestige (i.e. non-vernacular) language promotes feelings of inferiority, as well as alienation from the child's family.

(2) Educational (this overlaps with psychological factors) - the mother tongue promotes freedom of expression; new concepts are difficult to grasp in an unfamiliar language.

(3) Linguistic - learning to read is easier if done in the mother tongue, because of difficulties and interferences caused by different phonemic and orthographic systems, and because most of the phonological system of a language is considered to be the basis for reading skill.

(4) Socioeconomic - the prestige language usually offers the promise of advancement and status, but the vernacular should be used as a bridge to promote better adjustment, and less alienation.

(5) Political - the vernaculars seldom have political importance, but it is claimed that the interests of the state are best served by using the mother tongue as the medium of initial instruction because this enables the educational system to be maximally effective; the use of both languages, in sequence, will smooth the path of integration into wider society.

(6) Financial - there may be bad returns on investment in non-mother tongue medium education, so money spent on developing one vernacular may prove to be more productive.

In contrast, Larson shows that the reasons usually cited for using the **prestige** language in education include, in ranked order, these factors: (1) Political (2) Socioeconomic (3) Financial (4) Psychological (5) Educational, and (6) Linguistic. The reasons given include many which have been or will be encountered in this chapter, such as promoting national unity, savings on teacher training and materials, etc., better employment prospects, the great costs involved in developing a multitude of vernacular languages, the lack of reading and other materials in the vernaculars, and the communication advantages which accrue from using one language or a small number of languages, regionally and nationally. It will be noted that Larson shows that the reasons given for using the vernacular languages in education are the opposite, in ranked order, from those given for using the prestige language. This correctly reflects the fact that, in most multilingual societies, national and educational decisions will always be compromises effected by a selective ordering of priorities. The application of the group conflict theory to the situation can be illuminating: "bilingual education programmes can only be

understood in terms of the relationship between the various interest groups, and that relationship is seen as basically one of power conflict" (Paulston, 1978: 244).

The wide applicability of Larson's categorisations is shown when, for instance, it is considered that the UNESCO-William Bull debate, referred to earlier, can be reviewed in the light of the factors advanced by Larson. The drafters of the UNESCO (1953) monograph rely almost entirely on psychological, "educational" and linguistic factors in motivating their advocacy of mother tongue education, whereas Bull finds greater significance in political, socioeconomic and financial arguments. The debate within Namibia has not extended beyond these parameters.

When it is considered that Larson provided his comprehensive and accurate categorisations in 1981, some thirty years after the UNESCO-William Bull debate, it may sceptically, and with reason, be concluded that there has been little advance in understanding bilingual education during that period. In one sense, this is a correct assessment: in areas of popular debate, as in Namibia and elsewhere at present, and amongst a host of writers, the keynote is advocacy from a relatively slender base of scientific knowledge. While making this criticism it must, at the same time, be clearly emphasised that educational planners ignore popular opinion at their peril. As was stated in the first section of this chapter, an understanding of intentions, motives and reasons is essential to any attempt to derive causal explanations in social science (Macintyre, 1973); in addition, there is a considerable body of informed opinion which advocates that

"The success or failure of a programme of bilingual education depends enormously on public enthusiasm and support" (Mackey, 1984: 166). (See also Lambert and Tucker, 1972; Skutnabb-Kangas 1981; Sole 1980; Swain, 1982; Paulston, 1985; World Bank, 1982). The question is not whether or not popular advocacy should be taken into account, because there are more than sufficient testimonies to the disastrous consequences of ignoring it; rather, as Fishman asks, with reference to Nationalism, "how can its obvious power be most productively channelled?" (1972a: xiii). Also, it must be asked whether or not the alternatives are widely known (Mackey, 1977). The assertion that the mother tongue is invariably the natural and proper medium of instruction, widely postulated by official sources in Namibia, must be rejected as being simplistic and uninformed, if not deliberately dissimulative.

CHAPTER SIX: LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION: PSYCHOEDUCATIONAL AND EXPERIMENTAL APPROACHES, AND A MODEL OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION FOR NAMIBIA.

There are two approaches which have provided further advances in knowledge and understanding of the issues involved in bilingual education. One can broadly be termed "psychoeducational" and the second is experimental in the classroom situation. As will be seen, the two are mutually reinforcing.

6.1 Psychoeducational approaches

The first approach was originally concerned with examining the question of whether or not biligualism was advantageous to the individual, although since the 1970's enquiry has delved deeper into related questions, such as contexts in which bilingualism may or may not be disadvantageous (or deficit-inducing) and, further, into the nature of bilingualism. In this the work of James Cummins has been most significant, with ancillary contributions from Skutnabb-Kangas and others. The original psychoeducational enquiries were stimulated by early experiments in bilingual classrooms, such as the Iloilo and Rizal projects in the Philippines (Davis, 1967; Ramos, Aguilar and Sibayan, 1967), and the investigation conducted in Ireland by Macnamara (1966). Two significant conclusions drawn by Macnamara were that education through a second language can cause retardation in subject matter achievement, and that it can also cause retardation in first language development. A World Bank study of experiments in bilingual education comments that "For many years the Irish study was offered as evidence of the deficit and retardation said to accompany

bilingual education" (World Bank, 1982: 3). It is interesting to note that earlier empirical investigations in South Africa, immediately before and after the Second World War, seemed to offer convincing proof to the contrary. It would appear that they were not widely reported at the time, nor afterwards. These can be consulted in Malherbe (1978).

During the 1970's, a number of experiments were conducted to determine the cognitive effects on children of bilingualism. These were motivated by awareness of apparent contradictions in research results:

It was an accepted notion for many years that bilingual children had serious deficits in contrast with their monolingual peers. But recent research has shown that some bilingual children do **not** do worse than monolinguals on general measures of intellectual development (Feldman and Shen, 1971: 235).

As the appellation implies, psychoeducational research concerned itself not only with evaluating the effects of bilingualism in terms of scores on standardized intelligence tests - a measure which is still applied in experiments in bilingual education - but also with investigating "its effects on more specific manifestations of cognitive development" (Ianco-Worrall, 1972: 1390). There have been, for instance, studies of the influence of bilingualism on the following aspects: figural fluency, flexibility and originality (Torrance, Wu, Gowan and Alicotti, 1970; Landry, 1974); naming, object constancy and use of names in sentences (Feldman and Shen, 1971); semantic development (Ianco-Worrall, 1972); communication skills as exemplified by

sensitivity to the needs of others (Genesee, Tucker and Lambert, 1975); and syntactic processing, semantic processing and other kinds of analytic processing (Ben-Zeev, 1977a, 1977b). In general, these studies showed the superiority of bilingual children over monolingual control groups, or, at least, no evidence of significant retardation in the experimental groups in respect of the constructs which were measured.

The question remained of what relevance these findings had for policy and implementation in bilingual education. Although it is true that these experiments did make an important contribution by laying to rest the notion that bilingualism was always and everywhere deficit-inducing, they still left open to researchers the necessity to

take a close look at the nature of the bilingual event, consider ways in which the experiences of bilingual children may differ from those of unilingual children and how these experiences may influence the course of cognitive development (Ianco-Worrall, 1972: 1390).

Cummins' work has been consistently stimulated by the attempt to resolve apparent inconsistencies between the results of earlier studies which showed the adverse cognitive and academic consequences of bilingualism, and later studies which showed the favourable effects of bilingualism (Cummins, 1976: 1; 1977: 3). In consequence, he has developed three provocative hypotheses: (1) the threshold hypothesis (1976, 1977), (2) the interdependence hypothesis (1980, 1984) and (3) the distinction between Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BIC) and Cognitive/Academic Language Proficiency

(CALP) (1980, 1983, 1984). The threshold hypothesis developed from Cummins' observation that favourable effects of bilingualism were reported in studies where subjects had achieved what he terms balanced bilingualism, i.e. high second language competence had been achieved at no cost to first language development. This he terms additive bilingualism, as opposed to the subtractive variety (1976: 19) which, defined as a situation in which first language development is retarded, generally produces adverse cognitive and academic results. In consequence, it is hypothesised that there is a threshold level in competence in the first language which a child must attain for "the potentially beneficial aspects of becoming bilingual to influence cognitive functions" (ibid.: 1). Thus, it is recommended that degrees of bilingualism should be defined, and that the variety of factors which may differentiate bilingual learning situations from each other should be investigated. In addition, the context-specific effects on bilingual learning of these various factors in differential combination should be identified. As a result, Cummins recommends promotion of the first language in "maintenance" programmes, along with the second language. The threshold hypothesis is firmly supported by Skutnabb-Kangas, who states that mother tongue-maintenance programmes are essential for minority children with low status mother tongues (1981: 223ff.). Kessler and Quinn summarise the consensus of this opinion: "An initially high level of competence in the first language is a determining factor in the development of high levels of proficiency in the second language" (1982: 64). In Ferguson's words, the threshold hypothesis provides potential support at a psycholinguistic level for an increased role for the

mother tongue (1985: 41). Cummins' second hypothesis, that of linguistic interdependence, is closely related to that of the threshold. He formulates the interdependence hypothesis in these words: "to the extent that instruction in LX (i.e. language X) is effective in promoting cognitive/academic proficiency in LX, transfer of this proficiency to LY will occur provided there is exposure to LY" (1980: 90). This hypothesis explicitly denies many widely-held beliefs about bilingualism, namely that there is a separate underlying proficiency (Cummins' term) for each language, and that there is only a certain amount of language proficiency available to the individual. There is, says Cummins, a common underlying proficiency for all linguistic development. Failure to take this into account will promote advocacy of the "linguistic mismatch hypothesis", namely that education through medium of a language other than that of the home, at whatever school phase, will invariably produce cognitive and academic deficiencies (1980: 94). As a result of the interdependence hypothesis, Cummins reaches a number of provocative conclusions: (i) transitional bilingual programmes should be rejected in favour of maintenance bilingualism (1980:93); (ii) "the full benefits of bilingual instruction may not become apparent until the fifth or sixth year of instruction" (1980: 96), and (iii) bilingualism per se is not the cause of minority students' academic difficulties; rather, it is the failure to develop the students' first language for conceptual and analytic thought (1984: 107).

In Cummins' formulation of the interdependence hypothesis, quoted above, it will be seen that he refers to "cognitive academic proficiency" in a language while

immediately above, reference is made to language development for conceptual and analytic thought. These are key constructs in Cummins' third hypothesis, that of the distinction between basic interpersonal communication skills (BIC) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP). BIC is regarded as surface manifestations, commonly found in cognitively undemanding and context-embedded situations (1983: 113), while CALP is largely independent of BIC and is strongly related to literacy and, hence, to linguistic skills necessary for academic success (1980: 86). These skills are cognitively demanding and context-reduced. In consequence of these three hypotheses, Cummins proposes that

Strong promotion of literacy in the minority language is likely to be an important component of any educational program that aspires to reverse the pattern of minority student school failure (1984: 6)

He also expresses support for **bilingual immersion** programmes that have bilingual teachers and strongly promote the first language (ibid.). In this connection, it must be noted that the trend-setting Canadian immersion programmes, which will be referred to later, usually have a strong component of first language maintenance from the beginning. Contrary to popular opinion, they are not monolingual programmes, i.e. they do not only employ the second language as the teaching medium (Swain: 1982).

6.2 Empirical and experimental approaches.

As has been stated, besides this so-called psychoeducational research, experiments in the classroom situation have provided advances in knowledge and understanding of the issues involved in bilingual education. There have also been a number of empirical investigations, which differ from experiments in that they operate retroactively in order to identify salient factors which account for characteristics which are observed at the time of the investigation. The earliest of these which are reported in the literature were the investigations conducted in South Africa immediately before and after the Second World War. These are reported in Malherbe (1978). The first of these studies was conducted country-wide in 1938, and involved 18773 pupils in all secondary school grades. The field of investigation was potentially rich, because it offered cases of single-medium, dual-medium and parallel-medium instruction. The findings, as reported by Malherbe, were that:

- (i) Pupils gained considerably in second language proficiency when it was used as a medium of instruction and not merely taught as a subject;
- (ii) Even where the second language was not used as a medium, there was a gain in proficiency in that language when English- and Afrikaans-speaking pupils attended the same school;
- (iii) The proficiency of pupils in their first language was not affected by using the second language as an ancillary medium;
- (iv) Children suffered an initial handicap in mastering academic content when the second language was used exclusively as a medium at a very early stage, but this handicap became progressively less and was finally eliminated

altogether;

(v) There was no evidence of any adverse effects of bilingualism on the childrens' intelligence; on the contrary, there was a fairly high correlation between bilingualism and intelligence.

In 1945 and 1946, the education department of the Cape Province in South Africa conducted an experiment into the efficacy of the alternating and subject methods of bilingual instruction. The former refers to a method whereby subjects were taught on alternate days in English and Afrikaans; the subject method entailed teaching some subjects through one language medium, and other subjects through the second medium. The alternating method proved the most effective, with significant gains in proficiency in the second language, and no serious retardation in content subjects after two years' exposure. (It should be remembered that Cummins (1980) postulates that the full benefits of bilingual education will not become apparent until the fifth or sixth year of instruction, a position which is broadly supported by Cohen and Laosa (1976) who advise that one line of research must be followed over several years at the very least.)

The South African experiments were conducted amongst speakers of the two official languages, Afrikaans and English, who were members of the dominant white group and who have a long tradition of inter-group mixing, and of exposure to each others' languages. The Cape Province experiment was conducted at a time when the South African government was pursuing a policy of bringing about greater integration between the two groups by devising educational policies to effect this. As shown in Chapter Four, it was this policy to which a circuit of the Dutch Reformed Church

in South West Africa objected in 1943, on the grounds that dual-medium instruction threatened the "mother tongue soul of the people" ("volksziel") as well as the religion of the forefathers. Malherbe states that bilingual education, except for the learning of the other language as a subject, was abandoned when the Afrikaner Nationalist Party came to power in 1948. The reasons given were that linguistic contact between the groups would contaminate the respective mother tongues, that learning through medium of the second language would have deleterious effects on mental development, and that antipathies and prejudices would be exacerbated by inter-group contact. The facts are, as has been observed in earlier chapters, that the Christian National philosophy required separation wherever it could be effected; in consequence, linguistic and psychological arguments were advanced in support of this policy, as they still are today. Analysing the situation in the United States of America and Europe, Glyn Lewis observes that

Bilingual education has been advocated ostensibly for entirely pedagogic reasons, while the fundamental rationale for the proposal is to bring about greater political, economic and social equality (1978: 20)

This applies to South Africa and Namibia except that policy-makers have promoted bilingual education to preserve **inequality**, offering proof of the correctness of Skutnabb-Kangas' assertion that "Bilingualism can be used to prevent equality..or to create equality" (1981: 237). The situation provides striking evidence of Paulston's claim that language is never the causal factor in any manifestation of behaviour,

but that it in fact mirrors social conditions: it "mirrors man's relationship to man" (1985: 4).

The South African investigations have been reported on at some length, because of their relevance to Namibia. They are relevant not so much in terms of the specific situations and findings, but because they show what is possible if policy permits, and because they reveal the decisive role of political decision-making in matters of bilingual education. As researchers have become more sophisticated, and as stronger theoretical bases have been developed, so more background factors in bilingual education situations have been identified. Perhaps the most useful general principle to have been established is that bilingualism is not a causal factor in academic success or failure, but that it is an intervening variable. The causal factors are societal goals and characteristics (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981: 237). Of greatest significance is the fact that "The success or failure of a programme of bilingual education depends enormously on public enthusiasm and support" (Mackey, 1984: 165). (See also Dulay and Burt, 1980; Fishman, 1980; Edwards, 1984; World Bank, 1982; Swain and Cummins, 1979.)

Engle (1975) and World Bank (1982) have provided extensive reviews of bilingual education experiments in classroom settings, as well as of significant empirical investigations world-wide. Their conclusions are that the most important factors in selecting and ordering the various languages in the educational system are: the cognitive and academic development of the child in the first language, the attitudes and support of the parents, the status of the languages in the wider community (including relationships between majority and minority

groups), and the goals of the bilingual programmes, as determined by government (Engle, 1975: 1; World Bank, 1982: i). An analysis of the South African investigation (1938) and experiment (1945-46), in the light of current knowledge, would suggest that the following factors were probably of cardinal importance in producing the beneficial effects of bilingualism which were reported:

- (1) The equal national status of the two languages involved;
- (2) The relatively high levels of motivation and training of the teachers (refer to Malherbe (1978: 195) for an account of the importance of the attitudes of teachers);
- (3) The societal benefits which educational success confers on members of privileged groups;
- (4) Socioeconomic status and the literacy of parents;
- (5) Parental approval of the experiment, and of bilingual education in general.

Other significant factors would include the levels of development in the first languages, which were probably quite high, because both English and Afrikaans are official languages, widely used in the public media and in communication with other groups. The literature available for educational purposes is also a significant factor. English has a very large literature, and Afrikaans is at least adequate for most purposes, in this respect.

Unfortunately some experiments have suffered from confounding factors, such as special training of teachers in preparation for the project, or the enthusiastic production of teaching materials. These factors are to be found in earlier experiments such as Iloilo I and II, and Rizal, all in the Philippines. It is not known to what extent they were operative in the South African

investigations. In general, however, whatever the configurations of factors, the outcomes of these experiments accord very well with the observations of many researchers, who conclude that there is nothing **inherently** disadvantageous in using the first language as a medium of instruction, or the second language, or some combination of the two:

There is nothing inherently impossible, or negative, in providing initial education through the medium of a second or foreign language. As a result, one is forced to examine factors that extend beyond the immediate school environment for explanations of success or failure in school (Swain and Lapkin, 1982: 1).

It would be useful to review a number of experiments which have been conducted in the classroom situation, but because space does not permit, only one, the St Lambert Experiment in Canada, will be discussed in detail. This and others have been reviewed by Engle (1975) and the World Bank (1982), and it is expedient to rely on their accounts and conclusions. Engle studied twenty-four investigations into bilingual education, concluding that seven of those were truly experimental, i.e. "variables were controlled, a comparison group was selected and data was gathered systematically" (ibid.:2). Of these, she considered four to be noteworthy for their thoroughness, and worthy of special comment: Iloilo I and Rizal in the Philippines (Ramos et al., 1967), the Modiano Study in the Chiapas Highlands of Mexico (Modiano, 1973), the Uganda Study by Ladefoged, Glick and Criper (1972) and the St Lambert Experiment (Lambert and Tucker, 1972). All studies which were reviewed by Engle were examined in the light

of what she terms the two central questions in bilingual education: (1) Will a child learn to read more rapidly in his second language if he is first taught to read in his primary language? (2) Will the child achieve greater general knowledge of other subject matter areas in his second language if he is taught these subjects first in his native language? As a result of her comparison of the four experiments, Engle concluded: "No one has yet conclusively answered the questions posed at the beginning of this review" (ibid.: 14). She did, however, make some generalisations. Firstly, teaching second language literacy should be preceded by prior oral training; secondly, bilingual programmes do not apparently retard children's development in the first language; thirdly, the effectiveness of the programme may increase with the number of years during which it is in operation, because some initial disadvantage and slower rates of progress characterise all bilingual children, no matter what successes are achieved later. Engle also drew attention to the importance of teacher quality and, of significance in the light of the World Bank study as well as conclusions by other researchers, it was her opinion that the success of a bilingual programme is related to a complex web of factors: "how much language is used in the home, the relationship between the languages in larger society, the values that are put on each language..." (ibid.).

The World Bank (1982) review consulted eight projects, being: the Rizal study, Macnamara's research in Ireland (1966), the St Lambert Experiment, the Modiano study, the Six-Year Primary Project in Nigeria (Afolayan, 1978), the study by Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa in

Sweden (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1979), the Sorertalje language shelter study by Hanson (*ibid.*), and the Rock Point Navajo School Project (Rosier and Holm, 1980). The first three represent case studies in which children learned initially through medium of a second language, and in the remaining five, children learned initially through their first language as medium of instruction. In the opinion of the author, all eight studies represent research of high quality, most of the following design characteristics being present in each case: an adequate sample of pupils, care in assigning pupils to experimental and control groups, pretesting to establish baseline data, control for factors such as intelligence and socioeconomic status which might bias outcomes, tests which were as valid and reliable as possible, and appropriate statistical methods used for analysis (World Bank, 1982: 4). The comparison of the eight studies sought to answer the question, "In a multilingual society, what is the best choice of language as the initial language of instruction for the child in primary school?" (*ibid.*:i). The analysis makes it plain that the major criterion applied by the World Bank study is that of achievement in mastery of academic content in the primary school.

The general conclusion is remarkably similar to Engle's: "it is concluded that there is no one best answer to the question of which language to choose. The answers must be found on a case-by-case basis" (*ibid.*). More specifically, the World Bank study recommends that the second language may be considered appropriate for initial instruction if the child's first language has developed "to the level where he has the conceptual and linguistic prerequisites for the acquisition of literacy

skills", if the parents choose instruction in the second language, and if the wider community views the first language as having social and economic status at least equivalent to the second language. Conversely, initial primary education through medium of the first language may be appropriate where the child's home language has not developed as described above, where the parents "want instruction in the first language and/or there is little pressure in the home or the local community for literacy or language maintenance in the first language", and if the wider community views the first language as having lower status than the second language (World Bank, 1982: 41-42). In addition, the study focusses on the costs of various alternatives which, as it correctly points out, have been very little researched in the bilingual education contexts: "If Uganda cannot afford textbooks in English, how can it afford textbooks in all the local languages?" (ibid.: 45).

It will be realised that some of the conditions set out above may, in fact, conflict with each other in certain situations. In Namibia for instance, there is considerable doubt that the majority of pupils, upon entering school, have attained the level of linguistic development which is desirable, and the vernaculars certainly have lower social and economic status than English and Afrikaans. Yet, as will be shown in succeeding chapters, these parents and the teachers who serve their communities seem to be rejecting the use of the first language as the initial medium of instruction. The question of costs is also problematical, and it is doubtful whether a government which is truly concerned to rationalise the use of national resources, as advocated in the education report by the United Nations Institute

for Namibia (1984), would permit the continual expansion of the production of vernacular readers and textbooks, as is now the case. This statement is made in the light of the small size of most language groups, of the almost complete lack of any back-up literature outside the classroom, and of the very high unit cost when considered in terms of the expense of training linguists and of developing the diversity of languages for modern purposes.

6.3 General conclusions

Perhaps the most valuable lesson to be learnt from the bilingual education experiments which have been reported and reviewed in the literature is that there is no ubiquitously correct ordering of languages in terms of staging and timing of introduction. This echoes Mackey's warning, already referred to, that bilingual education models cannot and should not be imported into foreign contexts (1978: 6). In consequence, attention has turned towards identifying the qualities of good research in the field - what can be termed the characteristics of research design and method (Cohen and Laosa, 1976: 151) - as well as towards isolating factors in both the macro- and the micro-environments which are relevant to the particular study. The former will include characteristics such as the type of speech community, degree of norm-consciousness, "the extent to which language is regarded as central to the maintenance of (a community's) way of life or culture" (Glyn Lewis, 1978: 21), national policies, attitudes and motivations, and the demographic and geographic spread of various languages. An analysis of the macro-environment will be informed by the perception that

Educational attainment is shaped by many forces other than language skills. It is shaped by a complex set of variables that includes among other things demographic patterns, socio-economic status and class alignment, cultural values, community demands, school commitment and community participation (Sole, 1980: 140).

As already noted, many observers note that public enthusiasm and support is absolutely vital to the success of a programme of bilingual education (Mackey, 1984; Dulay and Burt, 1980; Fishman, 1980; Edwards, 1984; Swain and Lapkin, 1982).

An analysis of relevant factors in the micro-environment will include both educational treatments, such as types of curricula, differences amongst teachers in their interactions with pupils, grouping of learners with respect to language dominance, and other classroom aspects; and characteristics of students, such as intelligence, literacy, linguistic development, and responses which may be conditioned by culture and sex. Finally, given the nature of language acquisition and the lack of clarity on salient factors in experiments in bilingual education, studies should be conducted over a considerable length of time. For example, the St Lambert Experiment continued over five years, with subsequent follow-up studies, and some of the lessons were still being extracted a decade later (Swain and Lapkin, 1982; Swain, 1982). In fact, Cohen and Laosa advocate that studies should be continued over many years or even generations because "It is virtually impossible to introduce or even account for all the variables in a single study" (1976: 162).

The St Lambert Experiment deserves special mention because "it is the most extensive and thorough available. It is the quintessence of successful initial instruction in a second language" (World Bank, 1982: 3) (cf. also Engle, 1975: 12). A comparative study of this Experiment in the light of situations in Namibia and the continent generally is justified because of the complete lack of meaningful experiments in Africa. Although one writer has claimed that the Six-year Primary Project in Nigeria has shown that

...children can receive their primary education in elementary science, mathematics and social and cultural studies through the medium of their mother-tongue alone and yet most efficiently learn all lessons in Secondary Class One without any intensive English language course after their primary education (Afolayan, 1984: 15)

the experiment was unfortunately flawed by a number of confounding factors such as special training of teachers, ongoing production of materials, and the lack of formative and summative evaluations. Of other investigations in Africa, the pre- and post-Second World War projects in South Africa (see above) and the enquiry by Ladefoged, Glick and Criper in Uganda (1971), although very useful, were essentially empirical investigations and not experiments.

Comparative studies are hazardous because it is usually very difficult to establish valid points of similarity, but the St Lambert Experiment can be compared with African situations because of some points of similarity between the two. As in the St Lambert case, immersion education is the basic African bilingual model: transfer

bilingualism is aimed at in both cases; and the greatest proportion of reading skills is acquired in the second language. Swain and Lapkin (1982) have conveniently summarised some of the most important lessons learnt from the Canadian study which can possibly be applied to other situations:

- (1) There is nothing **inherently** impossible or negative in providing instruction through medium of a second or foreign language.
- (2) Programmes must be sensitive to the conditions of the wider social context.
- (3) For members of majority groups, learning a second language does not pose a threat to the sense of personal or cultural identity, or to first language maintenance.
- (4) The success of the Canadian immersion programmes can partly be ascribed to their voluntary nature, as well as to parental involvement and to positive attitudes to both the first and second languages.
- (5) The second language is learnt in very much the same manner as the first is, by interacting in meaningful communicative situations.
- (6) Children should not be required to speak and write in the second language before they are ready to do so voluntarily.

To this list, Swain (1982) has added a number of others: the second language is acquired **incidentally**, because the focus is on good communication (refer to (5) above); immersion education in the Canadian model includes an element of first language maintenance, because it is used throughout as a medium of instruction in some subjects; unlike submersion situations, immersion education provides a situation in which most

(or all) pupils have the same linguistic skills upon entry, and are thus not made insecure by comparison with others; reading skills learnt in one language seem to be transferable to other languages, without further instruction. (In the St Lambert Experiment, the children learnt to read only in their second language, French, but were soon reading just as well in English as first-language speakers who had learnt literacy skills only in that language.) Swain notes, however, that the results of immersion programmes may not be applicable in situations where vernacular speakers do not strongly value their own language (Swain, 1982: 96), a condition which appears to pertain in Namibia, although perhaps only in respect of higher-status functions.

6.4 Language in education: some other considerations

This chapter will be concluded with a brief discussion of other factors which can be significant in determining the content and ordering of bilingual education programmes. The first of these might be called technical factors, chief of which are availability and cost. It should be obvious that a programme cannot be implemented if the means are not available to do so. Many vernacular languages do not have literary forms, or lack literatures of any substance, or have not been properly standardised. For instance, there is considerable evidence that even well-educated speakers of Nama-Damara in Namibia are often confused by the existence of old and new orthographies, which leads to insecurities in using the language in written form (oral communication by Professor Haacke, of the Academy, in Windhoek). As will be reported later in this study, this might give rise

to diffidence, or even antagonism, amongst teachers, in respect of using the language in the classroom. The production of written materials, standardisation, etc., is closely related to questions of costs, which Larson (1981) (see Chapter FIVE) considers to be one of six significant factors in the selection of languages for educational purposes. Standardisation and the creation of new lexical items (language development) is an expensive endeavour, requiring the services of trained linguists, heavily subsidised printing and publishing costs, and efforts to gain acceptance. In Namibia, a Bureau for Indigenous Languages has been created within the Department of National Education (formerly within the Department of Bantu Education) which performs the tasks listed above as well as many others. One of its functions is to select literary works in the vernaculars for use at school, and, because so few exist, contributions have to be solicited and published with hardly any return on financial outlay. This work is supported by the state because of the definite emphasis given to the use of the vernaculars in education, but it must be questioned whether a future government, in a country of just over a million people, will place this work very high on its list of development priorities. As the World Bank (1982) survey states, it is unfortunate that none of the prominent experiments and investigations in bilingual education have taken cost into account as a significant factor.

The close relationship between reading and academic proficiency, has been established by many studies. The achievement of literacy and wide-ranging reading proficiency is connected with the cost factor, because it

is clearly impossible to read well if there is very little to read. Gorman correctly states that "Functional literacy is in some circumstances a dubious asset in certain communities where non-educational or non-religious reading materials are virtually unobtainable" (Gorman, (1970:4). In the great majority of Namibian schools, where reading skills are learnt initially through medium of the vernacular, there is usually only one short reading book available for each school year. The result, as will be shown later, is that a great deal of what passes for reading practice is, in fact, anything but that, in order to allow the use of the book to be spun out to fit the time available. It is not known what connection there is between this palpable failure to teach reading properly, and the substantial drop-out rate during the early years. Some connection may be hypothesised, because reading proficiency is not only related to academic success, but is in itself one of the aims of the initial stage of education, i.e. it is one of the "3 R's".

Reading proficiency is not only a product of the amount of literature available to the pupil, but also of the methods employed. This leads on to the issue of teacher training and the quality of educators, a factor which Engle (1975: 23) has identified as being of general importance in the success of bilingual education programmes. (Refer also to Ladefoged, Glick and Criper (1972) as well as to the influential work by Beeby (1966).). Obviously language proficiency per se is a cardinal factor, because the teacher is often one of the few second language models available within the community, but methods, too, have their effect on

language proficiency. Kessler and Quinn correctly state that "an educational program which utilizes an inquiry approach with its emphasis on problem-solving situations should indicate particularly positive consequences for bilingual children" (1982: 66). In other words, challenging and interesting teaching will advance proficiency in the medium through which it is done. This can be associated with Krashen's statement that most people "acquire second languages while they are focussed on something else, while they are gathering interesting or needed information, or interacting with people they like to be with" (Krashen, 1980: 177). It is a general truth that second languages are best acquired incidentally, and not deliberately (Swain, 1982: 85). Badly trained teachers with low qualifications usually lack the capacities to expose themselves and their knowledge by utilising an enquiry-based approach (Beeby, 1966; Simmons 1980), and thus employ rote-learning and authoritarian methods.

6.5 Towards a model of bilingual education for Namibia

A common trend in the literature which advocates the use of vernacular languages as mediums of instruction (see above) is the assertion that this practice will improve academic achievement. Thus, by implication, the hypothesis is advanced that language is a prime causal factor in academic success or failure. This claim is quite common in educational circles in Namibia (Advieskomitee vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing, Volume 4, 1982; Zimmermann, 1983, 1984) and is also articulated elsewhere in Africa (Bokamba, 1982; Wigzell, 1983). In

fact, the proposition that there is a direct relationship between mother tongue medium and educational attainment is the **central** argument of the advocates of vernacular-based education; their claims are advanced primarily on psychological, educational (related to the former) and linguistic grounds. As has already been stated, there is in fact no proof of the **invariable** correctness of these claims for all contexts - the evidence is to the contrary - and in consequence the conventional argument for mother tongue medium must be rejected. Acceptance of this position necessarily requires an examination of the wider contexts in which education is placed, in order to attest factors which play a role in educational achievement. It may be claimed with a reasonable degree of confidence that where there is a positive correlation between language deficiency and educational retardation, there will also be found correlations between the latter and teacher qualifications, class size, supply of textbooks, numbers and sizes of school libraries and access to reading materials, socioeconomic status, income distribution, and, possibly, the extent of participation in political decision-making. In other words, the thesis is advanced here that language is not a prime causal variable in educational success or failure:

...if we begin by saying that bilingualism - or some variety of it - is the **cause** of poor results in tests and at school, we are in fact beginning in the middle of a causal chain. Bilingualism - or monolingualism for that matter - is never a goal in itself...(it) is an instrument used in achieving more general societal goals (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981: 237).

The quotation points directly to the most problematical aspect of proposing an ideal model of bilingual education for Namibia which, as was explained in Chapters One and Four, has an integral part in the methodology of this study. (It is through this model that, ultimately, the perceptions of teachers in respect of the research hypotheses will be mediated.) A bilingual model is proposed; theory, as discussed previously in this chapter, the perceptions of many planners and observers who have made proposals for language policy in education in Namibia, and the views of the teachers who were surveyed, all suggest a bilingual model. The two languages concerned, for the majority of the population, will be a vernacular language and English. The demand for the latter as medium of instruction, a phenomenon of the 1980's, articulated in the face of its almost complete absence formerly, is in the first place a consequence of political developments. Advocacy of, and efforts to implement, English as a medium of instruction are identified with parties and groups which reject incorporation within the South African sphere of influence, and which propose internationally-accepted independence strictly within the framework of United Nations resolutions. The consequences of this are clear: it has already been seen (in Chapter Four) that the Human Sciences Research Council survey, conducted in Namibia in 1980, showed that the majority desire for English as a medium of instruction was strongly associated with expectations that it is "the language of the future". It will be seen, too, that a large number of teachers who were the subject of this survey attested their desire to improve their proficiency in English for reasons such as these: (i) English will/should be the official language, (ii) It is the language of the

future, (iii) It is the international language. A reading of Chapters Three and Four of this study will have shown that promotion of English in whatever sphere is not within the ambit of South African plans for Namibia, and that this is widely understood within the country whatever the short-term changes made under duress. It is therefore legitimate to infer that persons advocating English do so in expectation of a political future which is not directed by South Africa, i.e. one which is within a dispensation of internationally-recognized independence.

Thus, as stated by Skutnabb-Kangas (above), language policy is viewed as "an instrument used in achieving more general societal goals". Those goals are generally to be found within the modernising paradigm, and, as stated in Chapter Four and elsewhere, will not be realised under South African policy, or by South African-empowered "transitional governments". Yet it is a fact that during this interim dispensation, since 1981, English has continued to be implemented as medium of instruction, to the extent that it is already the higher-level medium in systems which enrol a majority of Namibian school children. The policy dangers of this situation should be obvious, and may be illuminated by consideration of some of the issues which were raised in the discussion of the relationship between policy and implementation in Chapter One. In the first place, good implementation requires good policy-making: "It is not exactly clear what 'good' implementation of a basically misconceived policy would be" (Bardach, 1977: 252). Implementation of English as a medium of instruction is taking place, but divorced from the policy goals for

which it has been widely advocated. The implications of this may be assessed by considering the opinion of Lewis, that it is the goal of implementation to make use of

appropriate mechanisms and procedures
in such a way as to fulfil
expectations aroused by the policy
and **retain public assent** (Lewis,
1984: 215) (my emphases).

If these goals are not, or cannot be, achieved then the result will be political conflict, frustration and disillusionment (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973; Dunsire, 1978; Larson, 1980). This is the inevitable result of such a hiatus between policy goals and implementation. A further problematic aspect of the implementation of English as a medium of instruction in the present situation in Namibia arises from consideration of the model proposed by Sabatier and Mazmanian (1979b), which was earlier used as a basis in this study. They show that where the diversity of target group behaviour is large, as is the extent of the behavioural change required, it is a critical condition of effective implementation that there should be, *inter alia*, (i) support from other government agencies which are affected, (ii) commitment and leadership skill shown by implementing officials, (iii) unambiguous policy directives, (iv) appropriate integration within and among implementing agencies, and (v) recruitment of officials who are sympathetic to the policy and committed to its implementation. In Hill's words, "the actual impact of any policy upon the public will depend on how it is interpreted and put into practice by government officials" (1980: 111).

These conditions do not apply within Namibia at present;

there is, rather, within key sectors of the military and civil service, hostility towards both the policy which is implied if not intended, by the use of English as a medium of instruction, and towards its implementation. Such conditions are both evidence and cause of policy-implementation failure which results in "a critical social condition" (Larson, 1980: 1). They arise because it is a major characteristic of reformism that policy adaptations should be made in order to deflect criticism and opposition, thus more effectively maintaining the existing balance of power relationships.

The first and essential condition for a model of bilingual education in Namibia cannot, therefore, be met at present. At most, the continuing implementation of English as a medium of instruction under current conditions can be viewed by its proponents as providing a basis of skills which can be properly utilised in a different, future dispensation, and as a means of exercising pressure towards the realisation of that condition. The first feature of a model of bilingual education for Namibia, ideally stated, is this:

(1) The model will reflect the modernising and developmental aspirations of the majority of the population.

A second feature of the model arises from the condition that it should be **bilingual**, and should thus incorporate the major vernacular languages as well. This consideration does not arise from a belief that mother tongue-medium is necessarily the most effective, or invariably correct, procedure to maximize academic

achievement. As a reading of earlier sections of this work will have shown, and in the light of the failure of mother tongue-medium education in Namibia over a period of seventy years, this author agrees with the conclusions reached by Phillipson, Skutnabb-Kangas and Africa, in respect of their investigation into language in education in Namibia:

...we conclude that high levels of success in relation to bilingualism and school achievement can be achieved either with L1 or L2 as the dominant medium of education, by groups with either high or low status, in contexts where the language either has official status or does not (Phillipson, Skutnabb-Kangas and Africa, 1985: 11-12) (their emphases).

Rather, the requirement of **bilinguality** arises from considerations such as those articulated by the World Bank (1982), that initial primary instruction in the first language may be appropriate (i) if "the child's first language has not developed to the level where he has the conceptual and linguistic prerequisites for the acquisition of literacy skills", (ii) if "there is little pressure in the home or local community for literacy or language maintenance in the first language", and (iii) if "the child is a member of a linguistic minority of the country and the bilingual situation is a subtractive one" (World Bank, 1982: 41-42). (See also Engle, 1975; United Nations Institute for Namibia, 1981; Cummins, 1976, 1980, 1984; Kessler and Quinn, 1982; SWAPO and Commonwealth Secretariat, 1983.) It should be noted that all speakers of vernacular languages in Namibia are members of minority language-groups, not in terms of numbers, but in terms of linguistic status. Bilinguality in the

school system, with a strong component of first language maintenance, is also proposed as a means towards promoting dignity and self-respect, which have been severely assaulted by a century of colonialism. The second feature of the proposed model of language in education for Namibia is thus:

(2) The model should be bilingual, with strong promotion of both the first and second languages.

A third feature of the model entails questions of the timing and introduction of the languages in the curriculum. Once again, there are no universal criteria which can be utilised in this respect; the policy guideline which is applied here is that "Education becomes much easier if schools respond to parents' goals and instructional preferences for their children" (Dulay and Burt, 1980: 195). Taking into account proposition (2) above, and in recognition of the political and socio-economic importance which communities attach to early acquaintance with the second language, it is proposed that:

(3) Both languages should be used as mediums of instruction from the first year, equally apportioned among subjects in the curriculum, as far as is possible.

The fourth proposition, which is a methodological application of (3) above, stems from Krashen's advice that "You don't have to talk in order to improve in a second language", and from his warning that students should not be made insecure and defensive by the teacher's insisting on oral production (1980: 177). (See also Lambert and Tucker, 1972; Swain, 1982). This

practice has policy-derived as well as psychological origins:

We teach English to our students primarily because we want them to be able to read books and journals in their specialized subjects readily available only in English. So it is the skill of reading comprehension that they need most. If English is used as an auxiliary medium of instruction, they will need the skill of listening comprehension as well...These two skills, it is generally agreed, are easier to teach than the productive skills, writing and speaking (Nadkarni, 1983: 159).

Thus the fourth feature of the proposed model of bilingual education in Namibia is:

(4) Where the second language is the medium of instruction, the emphasis will be on the rapid development of reading and listening skills; the productive skills in the second language will be exercised only as and when pupils are ready to do so.

The close relationship between reading proficiency and academic success has been attested so often that it is unnecessary to explicate the matter here. While the causal relationship has not necessarily been established - literacy levels are closely correlated with socio-economic status - it is obvious that literacy is one of the primary qualities which a developing country requires that its educational system should develop. The low levels of reading skills in Namibian classrooms can be attested from personal observation, but especially from the data presented in the report of the Advieskomitee vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing (AGN,

1982, Volume 4). While it is not possible to change the socioeconomic circumstances of the majority of the population rapidly - although a national government will of course address the task as a matter of priority - schooling variables may be addressed immediately. Although it is frequently stated that an essential component of a truly **bilingual** programme is the development of literacy in the mother tongue, it must be realised that the vernacular languages of Namibia do not have sufficient reading materials for any more than the most basic academic purposes. If the truth of Nadkarni's statement (above) is accepted, as it is here, then it is obvious that while reading skills may, as a matter of practical linguistic necessity, initially be taught in the mother tongue, there should be **early and vigorous** promotion of literacy in the second language. Without this, the majority of Namibian pupils will be denied one of the chief benefits which, it is claimed, is conferred by the use of a language of wider communication in education, viz. access to a much wider store of knowledge than can be provided through the vernacular languages. Thus the fifth proposition is :

(5) **Reading skills will initially be taught in the mother tongue, but there will be early and vigorous promotion of literacy in the second language.**

Almost every writer on education in Namibia refers to the characteristics which Dore, writing more generally, typifies as "ritualistic, tedious, suffused with anxiety and boredom, destructive of curiosity and imagination; in short, anti-educational" (Dore, 1980: 69). (On Namibia, cf. Geingob, 1967; Tjitendero, 1976; Ellis, 1984; Zimmermann, 1984; Brock and Kamupingene, 1984;

Hishikushitya, 1985; Harlech-Jones, 1985.) Various formal recommendations on future procedures in Namibian education show their concern at this stultifying state of affairs by proposing a more child-centred, enquiry-based, learner-involved approach (cf. SWAPO and Commonwealth Secretariat, 1983; United Nations Institute for Namibia, 1984; Education Committee, 1985). Apart from the deleterious general effects of the present methodology and classroom practices, there are also destructive implications for language learning. In the first place, as Cummins hypothesises, academic success seems to require "cognitive/academic language proficiency", which allows manipulation of language in decontextualized environments, and which is "largely independent of those language proficiencies which manifest themselves in everyday interpersonal communication skills" (Cummins, 1980: 86) (cf. also Cummins 1983, 1984). The "BIC-CALP" distinction raised by Cummins (discussed earlier in this chapter) is similar to the restricted-elaborated code dichotomy which is identified with Bernstein:

Elaborated codes give access to
alternative realities yet they carry
the potential of alienation, of
feeling from thought, of self from
other, of private belief from role
obligation (Bernstein, 1977:
484-485).

Cognitive-academic language proficiency and the elaborated code are strongly identified with "school language" and in particular with academic tasks and literacy. Whatever the negative implications, as articulated by Bernstein on a number of occasions, these are skills which are essential for students, and which cannot be learnt without extensive

literacy and close **personal application** to academic tasks. Governments of developing countries do not invest considerable portions of their national budgets in education in order that the products may have acquired only conversational skills in their first and second languages. Secondly, as Krashen states quite correctly,

Most people acquire second languages while they are focussed on something else, while they are gaining interesting or needed information, or interacting with people they like to be with (Krashen, 1980: 177).

Swain and Lapkin support this, asserting that the second language is learnt best in classes where the methodology "involves emphasizing communication of meaningful content material" (1982: 9).

Proposition (5) above entails vigorous and early promotion of literacy in the second language (the language of wider communication), accepting that for technical reasons this must perforce be the major language of literacy, and the chief language of access to knowledge in written form. Yet, as seen above, it is proposed that **bilingualism** should be the favoured condition of Namibian education. Conventionally, the chief literacy language of education prescribes the spoken medium as well, apparently as result of widespread belief in the "maximum exposure hypothesis", viz. that the target language is best learnt by pupils if they are forced to use it as early as possible, and as much as possible, with equal and sustained emphasis on all four language skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing). In consideration of propositions (3) and (4) above, however, it is here proposed that in subjects where

the mother tongue is the medium of instruction, there will be free and widespread use of texts in the second language as well. This does not necessarily imply that production of subject-content texts in the vernacular languages should cease, if costs and facilities allow continuation. Rather it is proposed that this procedure will more readily permit approaches which are interactive, enquiry-based and child-centred. It will also promote academic language proficiency, which is literacy-based, cognitively demanding and context-reduced (Cummins, 1983). The cause of the first language will also be advanced by this method, because teachers and pupils will be encouraged to examine and discuss knowledge and concepts which are available in texts in the second language, using the mother tongue to do so, thus proving that the language is not inferior for "corpus development" (i.e. lexical expansion) in a natural and spontaneous manner, to an extent which linguistic experts involved in many hours of committee work could not achieve. Put simply, the proposition is thus:

(6) In subjects where the mother tongue is the medium of instruction, there will be regular and widespread use of texts written in the second language (but not necessarily to the exclusion of texts in the first language).

A further proposition follows from what has been said above. It is of more general educational import but, as has been shown, has vital implications for language learning:

(7) Classroom methodology will be interactive, enquiry-based and child-centred because, apart from general benefits, this approach best promotes language learning.

It has already been motivated (proposition (4) above) that

there should be vigorous promotion of literacy skills in the second language, and that, self-evidently, where that language is the medium of instruction, there will be strong promotion of listening comprehension skills. However, speaking in the second language should be allowed to develop at the initiative of the pupils themselves, this being the most difficult and forbidding skill to acquire. It has been the consistent experience of the Canadian immersion programmes that some pupils might require up to three years before they freely speak the language in which the teacher instructs them (Lambert and Tucker, 1972). In Cummins' words, "the full benefits of bilingual instruction may not become apparent until the fifth or sixth year of instruction" (1980:96) (cf. also Malherbe, 1978). Tolerating delay in spoken production not only promotes the benefits which have been cited above, but also recognizes the realities of the actual linguistic environments in which the majority of Namibian school children live. It is a condition in which the second language is not much used in spoken interaction, being limited to academic and literacy purposes (cf. Nadkarni, above). In Fishman's words, the history of language spread among indigenous populations is far less marked by mother tongue replacement than by sociofunctional separation of languages (1977b: 117). It is therefore proposed that, in opposition to the present system which tests oral skills and productive written mastery of grammatical aspects, the following will be done:

- (8) Realistic goals in respect of literacy in the second language will be set, to be evaluated annually nation-wide at the end of the primary school phase. (This does not exclude the utilisation of other subject

tests and evaluations, as considered appropriate by the authorities.)

It is obvious that a truly bilingual educational system requires competently bilingual teachers, as a first condition: "The success or failure of a bilingual educational model...depends in the last analysis on what happens in the classroom" (Mackey, 1987: 12). However, as statistics on teacher qualifications show (see Chapter Three), and as this research attests, many teachers lack the necessary competence in the second language. Indeed, deficiencies in English are a major cause of professional insecurity (see later). Arising from this, there are problematical reading deficiencies amongst many teachers, as well as very little training in teaching reading skills and in promoting literacy. It is therefore proposed that:

(9) Teachers should be actively and consistently supported in their need to improve their competence in English, their literacy skills, and their ability to teach these.

Finally, and quite crucially, there is a need for what has earlier in this study (see Chapter One) been referred to as the policy-implementation imperatives of flexibility, negotiation and consultation. In the first place, as will be shown in later chapters, linguistic contexts vary quite widely in spite of the relatively small size of the population. In many rural areas, and in some smaller urban areas, there is hardly any reinforcement of the second language in the community. Other situations, such as rural boarding schools, produce their own specific

linguistic contexts, in which the second language is used for general communication, and in which a change-over from Afrikaans (used at present) to English can be achieved quite rapidly. The effects of these and other specific conditions should be discussed with school principals and staff, in order that realistic goals should be set locally, and particularly to avoid frustration and conflict.

Secondly, as this research has shown (see later), there are already substantial tensions amongst teachers, as a result of the growing pressure for English-medium education, often accompanied by a demand that this should be implemented from the first school year (Sub-standard A). In particular older and less-trained teachers fear that this policy will endanger their positions, a fear conditioned not only by their linguistic inadequacies, but also by the recent pressure which has been brought to bear on teachers to improve their qualifications, and by the known fact that some ethnic authorities have already dispensed with the services of lesser-qualified teachers. These fears are especially to be found in older teachers, who are not only less trained and less proficient in English, but who also have the longest term of investment in Afrikaans. Lieberman illuminates the situation very clearly:

Third parties play a key role in the conservation of language use. Once such neutral groups become bilingual in an existing dominant language, they develop a vested interest in that tongue with an intensity almost equal to that of the native speakers (Lieberman, 1981: 374).

It is these older teachers who will, in addition, have to bear the brunt of any implementation of English at the junior primary phase, because many of them have taught in that position for a long period of time, employing only mother tongue-medium.

Thirdly, the model for bilingual education is quite radical in some respects, particularly when compared with present and historical practices. This is particularly so in respect of proposals such as these: education should be fully **bilingual**, i.e. neither of the languages should dominate; various language skills may be exercised through various language mediums, even within one class; there should be rapid development of second language literacy; spoken production in the second language should develop spontaneously, and not be demanded by the teachers. References have already been made to the frequently-attested conservatism of the profession:

Teaching itself is not an object of knowledge; it is therefore not a knowledge but rather a social status and a function, which since the time of the reformist tradition...has been recognized and standardized by the state bureaucracy. Paradoxically, the most delicate socialization process is thus entrusted to this closed and autonomous professional category... (Rossanda, Cini and Berlinguer, 1977: 655).

This condition must be recognized; it requires particular sensitivity in the implementation of educational change, lest the form alter, but not the content. However, it is also true that one cannot make choices unless one knows what the options are (Mackey, 1984). It has been experienced during the course of the research which is

reported here that teachers do have a professional interest in learning of the possibilities which are embodied in the research hypotheses and in the propositions contained within this model of bilingual education for Namibia. Because it is certain that authoritarian enforcement of decisions on the traditional pattern will result in defective implementation, the last condition proposed is:

(10) There should be diligent negotiation and consultation in implementing changes in the linguistic patterns of the educational system, illuminated by discussions of local and personal characteristics, and by an understanding of the choices which can be made, i.e. school principals and their staff should be involved in implementation decisions in respect of manner, content and timing of innovations.

The ten-point model of bilingual education for Namibia which has been presented above will be referred to later, as a mediating factor through which the significance of the perceptions of teachers can be evaluated.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DESIGNING THE SURVEY

The purpose of this chapter is to set out the basic design of this research, with comments on cardinal assumptions and constituents; to describe the purpose and type of the survey; to give an account of the pilot survey and results; and to describe the course of the final survey. The results of the latter will be analysed in the next chapter. This chapter is concluded with an account of the six hypotheses which formed the basis for the survey research.

7.1 The design of this research

The basic design of this research was set out in Chapter One, and will be repeated here for convenience:

(1) Apply the basic criteria for this research:

(i) The conditions examined should exist now and should reasonably be expected to exist in the future;

(ii) The findings should be applicable now and in the future;

(iii) The conditions or factors which are investigated should form an integral part of the implementation process;

(iv) The study should conform with academic requirements.

(2) In the light of a suitable policy-implementation model, establish which variables conform with the criteria. By applying the model to conditions in Namibia, teachers were judged to be most suitable as the subjects to be investigated.

(3) The basic proposition of this research was derived: That a study of the characteristics, attitudes, beliefs and experiences of teachers is, in the current situation,

as attested by the application of the policy-implementation model, not only the most productive line of approach, but that it will also yield valuable data in the light of which current and proposed policies can be evaluated and/or refined.

(4) The chief dependent variables of the policy-implementation model, policy outputs, are held to be pre-existent in that extensive proposals for language policy in education have already been made by both parties which are contending for political control in Namibia. The essence of these proposals forms the basis of the six hypotheses of this study, which will be discussed in detail at the conclusion of this chapter.

(5) The attitudes, characteristics and beliefs of teachers will be investigated, in respect of the hypotheses.

(6) These attitudes will be mediated through a proposed model of bilingual education for Namibia, as has been set out at the conclusion of the previous chapter.

(7) Conclusions and recommendations will be formulated.

Before discussing the purpose and type of survey which has been employed in this study, some clarification is necessary in respect of the research outline which has been provided above. The criteria themselves (point (1) above) are self-explanatory, in that they arise from a particular transitional stage in the national development of Namibia, and in that language planning is always future-orientated (Jernudd, 1976). Cooper has shown that sociolinguistic studies are conventionally of two kinds:

- (i) Assessments of language behaviours: proficiency, acquisition, usage;
- (ii) Studies of behaviour towards language, which can

be characterized as either attitudinal or implementational (Cooper, 1979: 115).

In a future-directed study based within a transitional stage of national development, as this is, it is relatively unprofitable to study language behaviours as delineated by Cooper (above), because these can and will alter quite rapidly in response to new national dispensations. To use the scheme provided by Cooper elsewhere in his "scale of behavioural pervasiveness" in respect of second languages (Cooper, 1982) (see Chapter Five), there can be quite rapid transition from evaluation to proficiency and use, under favourable conditions. The relatively rapid spread of English as a medium of instruction in Namibia even while this study was being undertaken is indicative of this.

In respect of behaviour towards language, Cooper says that

While attitudes are unobservable constructs whose characteristics may be inferred on the basis of observable behaviour, implementational behaviour is itself observable. That is to say, people act overtly towards language (Cooper, 1979:115).

It is this overt behaviour towards language with which the survey which forms part of this research is concerned. This is set within the basic concern of this study as stated in Chapter One, namely to investigate the conditions necessary for the effective implementation of English as a medium of instruction in the schools of Namibia, and to propose measures which can be instituted

to facilitate the greatest possible degree of academic achievement by pupils. Cooper further notes that

...the formulation of language policy and the planning of its implementation are two aspects of its implementation. A third aspect is the evaluation of the effectiveness of language policy (Cooper, 1979: 119).

In this study, language policy in education has been shown to be a dependent aspect of broader national language policy, and it has been stated that major proposals for future language policy in education can be derived from planning which has already been done by the parties which are contending for political power in Namibia (point (4) of the research outline, above). It is self-evident that Cooper's "third aspect", final evaluation of language policy, cannot be done effectively during a transitional phase. Nevertheless, as Sabatier and Mazmanian have stated, in complex and unpredictable situations, implementation should be regarded as a "learning process", involving ongoing research, experiment and development (Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979a: 503). These are options which do not form part of this research, but which may be attempted at some future date.

This study is thus concerned with the planning of implementation of language policy (cf. Cooper, 1979, above). To aid in the selection of the variables in the implementation process which could possibly be studied within the criteria which were set for this research, the policy-implementation model of Sabatier and Mazmanian was applied to current conditions in Namibia. As shown in Chapter One, teachers were indentified as the chief implementation variable on which this study would focus;

the selection of teachers accords well with their known importance as agents in the process of the implementation of educational policies, with their status in Namibian communities, and with their long experience in the implementation of policies in bilingual education.

Finally, it must be noted that research in social sciences is inevitably concerned with the relationship between **means** and **ends**. There is no neutrality in the social sciences, not only because all study and research in these fields is ultimately concerned with how people live, and how they might or can live better or worse, but also because "what we 'observe' will depend on some implicitly held theory about the world" (Rex, 1974: 73). Although it is quite common to find social scientists in South Africa and Namibia, as elsewhere, who explicitly link "scientific method" with "objectivity" - this is particularly true of those who order government commissions, and those who serve on them - this is dissimulative, because such claims are based on an approach which

...leaves **ends** in the hands of policy-makers and concentrates the efforts of the social scientist on the **means** by which these ends may be attained (Karabel and Halsey, 1977:17).

Under these conditions, claims to "neutrality" or "objectivity" are truly dissimulative, because they explicitly conceal the fact that the investigators are content to allow others to design the agenda of enquiry for them, and that they are, thus, satisfied with that agenda. Fay quite correctly argues that "the whole notion of a policy science objectively choosing the best means to a prescribed end is an incoherent one", because

to choose a social policy, one requires a yardstick against which various alternatives can be measured and compared; this is usually "efficiency", which is in itself not objective, having been determined in terms of some already agreed value (Fay, 1975: 49).

The concern of this research is language policy in education, and it has been shown that all language policies, and their various institutionalized realizations, are functions of political choices. Therefore this research cannot pretend to neutrality. At most, as all academic work should, it can seek objectivity, which can be defined as pursuing the best means by engaging in wide- and deep-ranging enquiry while at the same time attempting a critical distance. It has been stated, in previous parts of this work, that advocacy of English as a medium of instruction in Namibia is a consequence of the search for modernisation and development by the majority of the population of Namibia, and that this paradigm of objectives includes the struggle to realise a united and independent Namibia which will provide greater equality of opportunity and fairer access to national resources. The value-orientation of this study is admitted in the acceptance that these strivings are necessary and legitimate. It is hoped that objectivity has been exercised throughout various aspects of this study, and perhaps especially in those sections which have been concerned with the relationship between language policy and national development, where attention has been drawn to the complexity of the issues, and to the necessarily tentative nature of some conclusions, in the light of the imperfect state of knowledge.

7.2 Designing and planning the survey

Within Western scientific practice at present, the use of the survey as an instrument of research is regarded with a certain degree of caution. It is frequently associated with positivism (Fay, 1975; Denzin, 1978) and therefore with attempts to legitimize official policies by providing the appearance of highly-structured professional practice. It may even be regarded as a substitute for theory:

...small-scale empirical studies continue to pile up while questions of broader theoretical interest remain unexplored...Caution rather than curiosity is the order of the day, and expressions of intellectual initiative are dismissed as evidence of a lack of methodological realism (Karabel and Halsey, 1977:75).

While the dangers of "mindless empiricism" are well known, it is also true that many laymen, and even academics, have a profound respect for "the facts", especially when they have been collected in a statistically reputable manner. So strong is this respect that the underlying, philosophical reasons for the particular structure of the survey in question are frequently ignored, to the extent that the very act of conducting a survey provides its own rationale:

The survey is an excellent way of acquiring certain kinds of information but it is limited and certainly over-used. All too often, of course, the process of research is reversed. The starting point is the idea of doing a survey of some population or other, to find out, well - something or other (Rex, 1974: 75).

It is hoped that the course of this work, up to this point, will have provided evidence of enquiry into "questions of broader theoretical interest" (Karabel and Halsey, above) and that the survey which will now be reported may be seen as one logical possibility within the process of research. The use of a survey as a research instrument was decided on partly because so little data-gathering of any kind has been attempted in Namibia (see Chapter One) and partly because language policies in education have been, and will be, initiated on a system-wide basis, affecting thousands of teachers and scores of thousands of pupils. For these reasons, it is necessary to employ an instrument "which obtains breadth of observation at the expense of depth" (Cooper, 1979: 114). Denzin has identified five major "sociological methods": experiment, survey, participant observation, historical and life survey analysis, and unobtrusive methods (Denzin, 1978: 5). Of these, experiment cannot be employed in a transitional situation in which necessary pre-conditions are linked to national policy, and the remaining methods, excepting survey, are of limited use in researching on a system-wide scale.

To avoid simplistic reliance on data alone - however well the survey may have been conceived - the analysis of results will be placed within the theoretical considerations which have been developed up to this point.

It is the opinion of Moser and Kalton that

Methodological problems of surveys fall
into three broad groups: from whom to

collect the information, what methods to use for collecting it, and how to process, analyse and interpret it (Moser and Kalton, 1971: 53).

To this may be added the observation that "a decision about the survey population stems more from the purpose of the survey than from sampling considerations..." (Hoinville, Jowell, et al, 1978: 56).

Geographical and administrative factors were not the least of the considerations to be taken into account when planning a survey in Namibia. Distance alone is a forbidding factor for the private researcher, as will be revealed by a review of the geographical facts which are stated in Chapter Two. The nature of the terrain is itself a limiting factor for the researcher who does not possess a four-wheel drive vehicle or, at least, a robust light truck, because many schools even in the better-developed central areas are accessible only via sandy or rutted tracks. In the more remote rural areas, road conditions can be almost prohibitive. A country-wide educational survey, besides the financial costs and distances which are involved, also requires negotiations with twelve different authorities. Each authority, besides controlling its own educational system, has its own political stance and affiliations, and attitudes towards a particular research project, and towards particular researchers, may differ very widely.

Together with financial costs, time is of course another significant constraint on the private researcher. The survey should not be conducted over so long a period that the results are affected by the often quite rapid shifts in opinion and policies, in this transitional phase. In addition, the severe war and security situation in the

north of Namibia is another constraint. Many rural areas are inaccessible except under armed accompaniment, and/or after roads and tracks have been swept for land-mines. The suspicions and fears generated by such a situation are not necessarily easily understood by an inhabitant of the central area of Namibia, such as myself, and could have a significant and unpredictable effect on the results.

For these reasons, it was decided to conduct the survey within the central areas of Namibia, i.e. those parts of the country which are south of the Etosha Pan and Owambo. It was also decided to include only primary schools for black pupils in the survey, because it is in these schools that representatives of the large majority of the population are to be found, and because these are the schools in which the major medium of instruction is not the language of the home. As explained in Chapter Four, in white and "coloured" schools the sole medium of instruction is also the language of the home, except for very small minorities of pupils. Thus black pupils have to deal with a switch from one medium of instruction to another at some stage during their school careers, under very disadvantageous conditions, which frequently include little exposure to the second language medium outside of the school. This is especially, but not exclusively, true for English. In addition, it is undoubtedly true that a developmentally-orientated national government of the future will devise uniform and general language policies in education, which will be based on the needs and conditions of the majority of the population, with far less attention than at present being given to minority situations. This will be dictated by

considerations of costs and logistics, but especially by the need to promote integration and national unity as swiftly as possible.

Given the parameters outlined above, four educational authority areas could be considered:

(1) The National Education area, which comprises most of the major towns of the central area, as well as what was exclusively "white farmland" until 1979;

(2) Hereroland, a complex of larger and smaller scattered former "reserve" areas, under one ethnic authority;

(3) Damaraland, a consolidated area under one ethnic authority;

(4) Namaland, in the south, also a consolidated area under one authority, which also has responsibility for a small number of urban schools.

The latter is a problematic focus of research, because of the long-standing relationship of many Nama people with Afrikaans, and because of the unique cultural history of the Nama people (see Chapters Two and Four). At this point it should, however, be noted that in spite of the fact that many "Nama" people are virtually bilingual in Nama and Afrikaans (cf. Haacke, 1985), a large, private school has been established at Gibeon, the chief town of Namaland. This school is exclusively English-medium, and has had a significant effect of the language attitudes of some sectors on the population of the south. The school was established at the initiative of Pastor Witbooi, a descendant of a resistance hero of the wars against German colonial authority, and himself a leading figure in the internal wing of SWAPO of Namibia.

Of the three remaining areas which could be considered as loci of the survey, the National Education area of authority was finally selected. It was hypothesized that results obtained here would be very similar to those in the other two areas, because (i) all three areas were historically, between 1920 and 1979, administered by the same authorities under the same policies, (ii) the large majority of the teachers under the Department of National Education are Nama-Damara- and Herero-speaking, and (iii) there is free movement of teachers, and the general populace, across the three areas which fall under the respective educational authorities. It was thus hypothesized that substantial savings in costs would be effected by concentrating on only one educational authority area, which could result in a valuable in-depth understanding of the dynamics of that particular situation. It is expected with a reasonable degree of confidence that the results of the survey will in large measure also be applicable to Damaraland and Hereroland.

The designing of the survey questionnaire began at the University of Edinburgh in mid-1985, when a number of academics, both inside and outside the university, critically reviewed the drafts. Revision continued in Windhoek after July 1985, with the assistance of a number of colleagues in the language departments of the Faculty of Arts of the Academy (now the University of Namibia). Final drafting was completed by September 1985, when the survey was refined in the light of criteria set by standard manuals on the subject (e.g. Moser and Kalton, 1972; Hoinville, Jowell, et al, 1978).

Officials of the Department of National Education in

Windhoek were approached, both personally and in writing, to obtain permission to research in schools under their authority. The chief statistician of the Department assisted in selecting the teachers for both the pilot and final surveys.

Eighty-seven schools fall under the Department of National Education, which supervises an area from Tsumeb to the north of Windhoek (450 kilometres) to Mariental to the south (250 kilometres), and from Gobabis to the east (200 kilometres) to Swakopmund to the west of Windhoek (350 kilometres). The majority of the schools are in urban areas, most of which serve large rural communities, although there are a number of rural boarding schools under the Catholic Church which are situated from fifteen to seventy kilometres from the nearest town. These church schools are funded by the Department of National Education, which also provides academic services.

Of the eighty-seven schools, thirty-one were immediately eliminated from the survey for these reasons:

(1) Four are situated in the extreme south of the country, beyond the geographical parameters which are mentioned above. If these schools had been included in the survey, a round trip of two thousand kilometres or more would have been required to contact perhaps one or two teachers who might have been included in the sample.

(2) Five schools are in Bushmanland, a very remote area for which a four-wheeled drive vehicle is required. It is an area which has a unique linguistic and cultural composition.

(3) Four schools are in South African army bases in

the Caprivi. It is not desirable that this research should be associated with defence activities.

(4) Eight schools are private, but partially subsidised by the Department of National Education. Of these, a number are secondary schools, and all employ either German or English as mediums of instruction. Where there are non-native speakers of these languages amongst the pupils, unusual conditions of submersion and elite bilingualism obtain.

(5) Ten are secondary schools.

After eliminating the schools above from the survey, fifty-six primary schools remained. With the assistance of the Departmental statistician, the two primary schools in the town of Okahandja were selected as the loci for the pilot study, which was conducted in October and November, 1985. They were selected because Okahandja is eighty kilometres from Windhoek, close enough for a number of visits to be made, but far enough for it to be unlikely that reports of the contents of the questionnaires, purpose of the survey, etc., would be made known to teachers in the Windhoek schools, which formed a large portion of the final survey. Another deciding factor was the fact that the feeder community of the Okahandja schools comprises approximately equal proportions of speakers of Nama-Damara and Herero, the two major linguistic groups of the central areas.

7.3 The pilot survey

The pilot survey was conducted during the period 15 September to 22 October 1985, at the two primary schools for black pupils in Okahandja, about 80 kilometres north of Windhoek. The Okahandja Primary School has about 950

pupils in Sub-standard A to Standard 5; the medium of instruction in the first three years is Nama-Damara, after which Afrikaans is used. The neighbouring Henadawa Junior Primary School employs Herero as the medium of instruction in the first three years. After that, pupils remove to continue their studies at the Okahandja Primary School. Both schools have adequate facilities, and have neat and orderly appearances. As with all the schools which were visited in the course of this research, the impression was given of efficient management, but strict and bureaucratic, with regular inputs from Departmental officials.

The feeder community is unusually balanced between home language speakers of Herero (about 40%) and Nama-Damara (about 40%), with the remainder comprising speakers of Wambo languages. The result is that Afrikaans is widely used as a lingua franca, to the extent that many pupils are quite proficient in spoken Afrikaans upon beginning school. An unusually high proportion of the staff (30%) at the schools is Afrikaans-speaking, whereas in the population from which the sample for the final survey was selected, comprising 832 teachers in all, only 8.3% (N=69) were home language speakers of Afrikaans. Besides the 30% who are Afrikaans-speaking, the linguistic composition of the teachers at the two Okahandja schools in 1985 was as follows: 36.66% Herero-speaking, 26.55% Nama-Damara, and 6.66% Tswana- and Wambo-speaking. The linguistic composition of the population from which the sample for the final survey was selected (1985 statistics) may be compared with the pilot survey population:

	<u>Sample Population</u>	<u>Pilot Survey</u>
Nama-Damara:	42.3% (N=68)	26.66% (N=9)
Herero:	24.8% (N=40)	36.66% (N=11)
Owambo:	11.2% (N=18)	3.33% (N=1)
Tswana	6.8% (N=11)	3.33% (N=1)
Afrikaans	9.3% (N=15)	30.0% (N=9)
Others	<u>5.6% (N=9)</u>	<u>0% (N=0)</u>
	<u>100% N=161</u>	<u>100% N=31</u>

In the pilot survey population, 70% were under thirty years of age, a much higher proportion than in the population from which the final sample was taken, where 41.1% were in that category.

The teaching population of the Okahandja schools is thus not typical of the full complement of primary teachers in the service of the Department of National Education, as assessed on primary characteristics. However, the major purpose of the pilot survey was not to obtain a preview of survey results, but to test the relevance of the questionnaire, and the methods employed in administering it. To this end, before the administration of the questionnaire, respondents were invited to comment at any point on aspects of language and intention which were not clear to them.

Before surveying teachers in the two schools in Okahandja, a pre-pilot survey exercise was done with the aid of ten final-year students in the Education Diploma Primary course at the Academy in Windhoek. These respondents were selected on the basis of not having English, Afrikaans or German as home languages. The first four were interviewed individually, the remainder

in pairs. It was explained that the purpose of the pilot study was to improve the survey in terms of clarity, structure, methods, etc., and that comments would be welcome at any point. During the administration of the questionnaires, which was done personally, various points were made by the students, who proved to be lively and valuable respondents. These comments were incorporated as improvements in the questionnaire, and in fact no further changes proved to be necessary during the administration of the questionnaire to the teachers in Okahandja. Items 28 to 31 proved to be undiscriminating and were reworded. Unfortunately, they also proved to be unsatisfactory in the final survey.

During the visits to the two schools, thirty teachers were interviewed, being about 75% of the total staff complements. No selection was applied, because obtaining valid results according to sampling criteria was not the object of the pilot survey, as already stated. At first the teachers appeared to be apprehensive and even suspicious, but it seemed that a good relationship was established quite quickly. Before the conclusion of my visits, two teachers in fact volunteered themselves as respondents. The questionnaires were administered to groups varying in size from five to nine persons. The latter group proved to be far too large, as it was difficult to maintain contact and interest. This was the only group in which some respondents omitted answers to the items in the questionnaire. In general, it seemed that administration to groups of between four and six persons was both efficient and economical. The co-operation of the respondents was heartening, and much was learned about interview techniques.

An interview was also held with one of the school principals, based on a standardised schedule which was administered more freely than was the practice with the teachers. This schedule dealt with broader language issues in respect of the school and community, and formed the basis of the interviews which were held with school principals during the course of the final survey. Unfortunately the second school principal could not be interviewed, because of his personal circumstances at the time of the appointment.

In conclusion, the actual results of the pilot survey will not be provided here, because the sample was neither scientifically selected nor representative. It may, however, be stated that there are substantial similarities between these results and those of the final survey. Trends are in many respects the same.

What is perhaps of greater relevance at this point is the result of the post-survey interviews which involved six teachers at the Okahandja Primary School. The issues which were explored arose from the results of the pilot survey, where various anomalies seemed to present themselves, or where unexpected trends were discovered.

A major issue which was discussed arose from the fact that these teachers revealed a fairly strong preference for Afrikaans as medium of instruction in the junior and senior primary school phases - English was a significant but lesser preference - but that they displayed an overwhelming preference for English as the medium in the secondary school. Because no spontaneous answer was forthcoming, I presented the hypothesis that the results

indicated a strong preference for English as medium of instruction, but that the respondents, being primary school teachers themselves, were very apprehensive of their own ability to implement English medium. The responses in all cases displayed immediate and convinced agreement, followed by spontaneous explanations of their perceptions regarding their own inadequate proficiency in English.

The question was raised of why English was perceived to be the necessary future medium of instruction. The respondents proved to be very cautious with respect to any suggestion of political motivation, a trend which is widespread wherever the question has been discussed in similar circumstances. No interviewee was willing to discuss the causes of the widespread demand for English as a medium of instruction; all were, however, prepared to give their views on a future in which English would be far more widely used in national and educational spheres.

With one exception, a home language speaker of Afrikaans, the interviewees denied that rejection of the mother tongue as medium of instruction even in the junior primary school indicated a lack of pride in the language. It was claimed that purely practical issues were involved. These reasons were given: the mother tongues are generally undeveloped, particularly as regards literature; there must be a switch to the second language medium at some stage, and this should be accomplished as soon as possible; the mother tongue is already "known" to the pupils, and therefore they do not need to develop further proficiency in that language. In addition, the interviewees variously stated that the mother tongues are not useful for further studies, that

people cannot "get anywhere" with them, that these languages are "undeveloped" and will remain so, and that teachers are not trained in the languages, and are unwilling to make the effort to catch up with new orthographies and teaching methods.

There was strong support for the suggestion that the second language medium should be phased in gradually over a number of years. However, there was a general dearth of suggestions as to how this should be done. There was great resistance to the suggestion that pupils should be allowed a lengthy period of receptive exposure to the second language as medium of instruction, during which performance in the productive skills would not be required by the teachers.

The interviewees were generally agreed that good reading is manifested in the ability to do so aloud. There seemed to be little understanding of the proposition that successful reading is in fact evidenced in the ability to read silently, swiftly, and with comprehension.

7.4 The final survey

The final survey took place during the period March to October 1986. It involved about five thousand kilometres of travel by car, forty-four interviewing sessions, and visits to thirty-nine different schools. Forty-three schools were originally scheduled, but the number was reduced for reasons which will be explained later. In addition, twenty-three school principals were interviewed. About one hundred hours were expended on interviewing; this time excludes much longer periods spent on the road and in hotels and camp-grounds.

The teachers of fifty-four primary schools under the Department of National Education were selected as the target population for the survey. This number excludes the two schools which were formerly utilized for the pilot survey. The 1985 list of teachers in these fifty-four schools was used for sample selection, because the 1986 list was only finalised during October of that year. As will be seen later, this necessitated making a number of replacements after the sample was made, because of transfers and retirements. However, the problem could not be avoided, if adequate time was to be allowed for the survey. Schools in Namibia close early in December, after a long period in November during which final examinations are written. Educational authorities do not approve of outsiders approaching the teachers during this period, and the staff are in any case engaged in marking and ancillary tasks.

The staffs of these fifty-four primary schools comprised 832 teachers and school principals, all of whom were eligible for the sampling process. It was decided to select twenty percent of this number by random process. After consultation with the chief statistician of the Department of National Education, who has considerable insight into the situation in the schools, it was decided that the following four characteristics would probably have significant influence on the language attitudes of the sample population:

- (1) Sex
- (2) Home language
- (3) Age (under thirty years; thirty years and above)
- (4) Level of academic and professional education.
(Teachers with Standard 7 with training, or Std. 9 without, formed the lowest sampling category.).

The population list was stratified in accordance with these characteristics. From each group, a selection of twenty percent of the names was made by random sampling. This procedure is termed proportionate stratified sampling, of which Moser and Kalton state:

stratification does not imply any departure from the principle of randomness. All it means is that, before any selection takes place, the population is divided into a number of strata; then a random sample is selected within each stratum. If the sampling fraction is the same for every stratum, this procedure is almost certain to be an improvement on a simple random sample because it makes sure that the different strata in the population...are correctly represented in the sample. This reduction of the play of chance is reflected in a reduction of the standard error - which, after all, is simply a measure of the influence of chance on random composition (Moser and Kalton, 1983: 85).

By this process of proportionate stratified sampling, 165 teachers were selected; of these, four would not take part in the survey, for reasons which they did not divulge.

Thirty-two replacements were made in the course of the survey, in the cases of teachers who were not available for various reasons. (As has been noted, the sample was taken from the staff list of the previous year.) Unavailability was occasioned by the following causes: transfer to another school (23), illness (4), school vacation (2), study leave (1), too busy to take part (one school principal), and school inaccessible because of the state of the road (1). In all cases,

replacements were selected from the same strata, the procedure being first to select a teacher from the same school and, secondly, to select from the nearest school, if selection could not be made from the same school in the same sampling stratum.

The original selection of one hundred and sixty-five teachers was drawn from forty-three schools. In the event, four of these schools were not visited. In two cases, teachers had transferred to nearby schools, where they were interviewed along with other respondents; one school was closed for the vacation, in which case two replacements were selected from the nearest school; and one school could not be visited because of the state of the road. At twenty-three of these schools, the principals were interviewed according to a separate schedule, the results of which will be described in the next chapter. The remaining principals could not be interviewed because of the constraints of time, or because they were too busy. A number of classes were also observed (see next chapter). The full interview schedule, showing schools and dates visited, number of teachers interviewed per school, and whether or not the school principal was interviewed, is included as an Appendix to this chapter (Table H).

It will be seen from Table H that school principals were interviewed at twenty-three of the thirty-nine schools which were visited. No principals of Windhoek schools were interviewed, because almost all of these schools have both morning and afternoon sessions, and the principals did not seem to be amenable to giving up some

of their working time to be interviewed. Being early in the survey, while I was still finding my way, I was reluctant to presume too much on their assistance. Other principals were not interviewed either because they were part of the survey sample, or because time did not allow, in a busy schedule of travel. The school principals were interviewed in a scheduled free interview style, in which I recorded their replies, while at the same time allowing certain issues to develop. The interviews were broadly intended to investigate wider language-related matters in the school and community. These major issues were discussed:

(1) Numbers of pupils per class, mediums of instruction, distribution of pupils by language groups;

(2) Linguistic composition of the staff, spoken and written mediums used in various facets of school life, personal relationships between linguistic groups;

(3) Linguistic composition of the community; language patterns;

(4) The timing and manner of the switch to the second language as medium of instruction, and the principals' perceptions of these and related matters;

(5) Reading skills in the mother tongue, Afrikaans and English; availability of textbooks and reading materials;

(6) Opinions of pupils and staff in respect of English, as school subject and as medium of instruction;

(7) English proficiency of the teachers;

(8) Education-directed aspirations of the community; literacy and general educational levels of the parents; manner in which the opinion of parents is consulted, and their attitudes towards language policy

issues;

(9) The most pressing needs and problems experienced by the school.

In almost all cases, co-operation was excellent, as it was during the pilot study. The most significant exception to this occurred early in the survey, at a primary school in Windhoek, when the first attempt at an interview had to be abandoned. One month earlier, there had been considerable student unrest at a nearby high school, resulting in the school principal, a white person, being summarily transferred. Various acrimonious exchanges took place between students, the parents' committee, and officials. Two weeks before my visit to the primary school, its principal had been transferred to the high school in question, and it is hypothesized that these factors played a role in the hostile reception which I was given. In the event, half of the group of respondents refused from the outset to participate in the survey. These were the major issues which were raised:

- (1) My personal history and occupation;
- (2) Sources of funding;
- (3) My relationship with the Department of National Education: The purpose of my visit was regarded with great suspicion, and one teacher claimed that if they answered the questionnaire, they would be faced with a conflict of interests, as they were employees of the Department. The impression created was that the teachers believed that "wrong" responses on the questionnaire could result in victimization.

(4) Anonymity, and selection of names: There was definite apprehension that individuals would be held accountable for their responses, in spite of my assurances that anonymity would be preserved.

(5) It was asked why no "white" schools were on the list from which respondents were selected.

(6) I was requested to discuss my views on language policy with the group before the survey commenced. This I declined, explaining that this would prejudice the validity of the research. The explanation was not accepted, and it was obvious that some of the teachers wanted to test my views before committing themselves to answering the questionnaire.

(7) It was also requested that I should go through the questionnaire with them beforehand, which I also declined to do.

This session finally terminated in some confusion and hostility. One teacher remained to complete the questionnaire, explaining that she would not be dictated to by the others. She spoke slightly of the events of the afternoon, saying that a minority had intimidated the rest, and advising me to return with a revised list of names, as others would certainly participate.

In the event, I returned later to discuss the matter with the chief spokesman of the opposition. He received me well, and we discussed language policy and other issues frankly and amicably. It transpired that he was an official of the Namibian Teachers' Union (NAMOV), which has been frustrated in its representation to the authorities in respect of changes to language policy in education. In order to gain his confidence, I had to

reveal far more of the purpose of the survey than should have been done with a potential respondent. This was, however, necessary under the circumstances. At his invitation, I returned two days later, on which occasion the survey was conducted in good spirit with the original group which had been selected.

Less than nine months later, a change to English-medium instruction was announced by the Minister of National Education, in respect of Windhoek schools. It was learnt later that throughout 1986, school committees had been bringing pressure to bear on the Department to this end, in an atmosphere of some suspicion and confrontation. The announcement by the Minister reflected a major and radical decision - that English-medium would be introduced from the first school year in 1988. Conversations with officials of the Department have revealed that this change in policy is not expected to be limited to schools in Windhoek. It is their expectation that English-medium instruction will be introduced in most of the primary schools under their jurisdiction, within two or three years. The Minister of National Education in the Transitional Government has played a major role in promoting the policy change, and has continued to have a direct hand in implementation.

Lesser opposition was experienced in July 1986 from the principal of a northern school, who was selected as part of the sample. His complaint was that a Departmental official had interviewed his teachers previously in pursuance of a language research project which was being conducted by the Department of National Education. His opinion was that the Department was adopting delaying

tactics to frustrate the genuine desire of the majority of teachers for English-medium instruction, and that my research project was part of this complicity. Once my position was established, the survey proceeded without further incident, and I later conducted a long and very frank interview with the school principal.

Besides these two incidents, no further adversity was experienced. Many groups of respondents were initially apprehensive of the nature and purpose of the survey, but seemed to be quite willing to participate once the sampling methods, guarantees of anonymity, and position and association of the researcher were explained to them. The English language cloze test seemed to cause more apprehension than the questionnaire.

At this point, it is appropriate to digress briefly to provide an account of related experiences which reflect the difficulty of researching language policy in Namibia, under present conditions of political conflict. During my time in residence at the University of Edinburgh (October 1984 - July 1985), I attempted to make formal contact with a group of SWAPO-sponsored Namibian students at Moray House College of Education. My purpose was to have their assistance in formulating the research hypotheses, and in designing the survey questionnaire. Although I had amicable personal contacts with some of these students, it was indicated that formal association, for the purposes set out above, would require the agreement of SWAPO. This agreement could not be obtained from the SWAPO office in London, and the project lapsed.

In March, 1987, I visited the United Nations Institute for

Namibia in Lusaka, at the invitation of SWAPO. Amongst other appointments, my academic colleague and I were formally received by the management committee of UNIN, with whom we had long discussions. I also took the opportunity of discussing language matters with one of the chief authors of the UNIN publication on language policy (1981), which has been referred to earlier. Upon our return to Windhoek, my colleague and I were the subject of repudiation by the government-supporting media, which also carried a press statement in similar vein by the Administrator-General. The principal of my institution was put under pressure by cabinet ministers of the Transitional Government, and by a committee which represents the heads of civil service departments.

Later, in April, 1987, in response to an invitation to visit the Academy (now the University of Namibia), the director of UNIN explained in a letter to the institution, also published in the media, why this was not possible. Amongst other reasons, he gave his opinion that the Academy represented an effort to bolster the colonial regime in Namibia. Subsequently, in May, 1987, the Council of the Academy issued a press statement repudiating both UNIN and any association with that institution. The statement also sought to prevent any contact between members of staff of the two institutions. A research committee of which I am a member was forced to abandon its efforts to arrange a symposium on educational philosophies with bearing on Namibia, which might have been attended by a member of staff of UNIN. In October, 1987, I did discuss the research which is reported in this work with a representative of UNIN, at a meeting which had to be arranged under the auspices of a "neutral" body in a neighbouring country.

Before an interview took place, a letter written in both English and Afrikaans was sent to the school principal, requesting permission to interview the members of staff who had been selected. The letter was accompanied by a brief description (in Afrikaans) of the purpose of the survey, explaining in general terms that language in education policy was being researched, and also ensuring respondents that anonymity would be preserved. A copy of a letter of authorisation from the Secretary of National Education was also enclosed. Nearer the time, a telephone call was made to arrange details of the visits. These conversations were invariably conducted through medium of Afrikaans. If one of the selected respondents was not available, a replacement was selected immediately, according to the procedure which has been outlined above. Upon arrival at the school a call was first made to the school principal, who assisted with final arrangements in respect of times and facilities. If possible, the principal was also interviewed according to the separate schedule.

Before interviews took place, I introduced myself and the survey to the respondents. It was explained that I was an academic and not an official of the Department of National Education; that I was a registered student of the University of Edinburgh; and that funding for the research was substantially from own sources, but also had been partially provided by private enterprise. The purpose of the survey was defined as being a general investigation into attitudes towards aspects of language policy in education, with no mention being made of the orientation towards English as a medium of instruction. The general hypothesis of the research, regarding the basic importance

of the attitudes and beliefs of teachers, was also mentioned. Finally, the sampling methods were discussed, as were measures which were designed to preserve anonymity.

The questionnaire was administered to groups ranging in size from one to five respondents, proceeding through the items as a group, explaining or emphasising where necessary. Uniformity of administration across all sessions was adhered to as far as possible. Only two groups chose the English form of the questionnaire. Both were under the strong leadership of school principals who had been selected as part of the sample. One school was in Windhoek, and the other was a rural Catholic boarding school about two hundred kilometres from Windhoek, which had been informed by the church that it would switch to English-medium instruction. These two interviews were conducted bilingually, in both English and Afrikaans. All other interviews were in Afrikaans only, which is itself an indication of the relative insecurity which many teachers feel in respect of their proficiency in English (see next chapter). At all sessions, both English and Afrikaans forms of the questionnaire were available, from which respondents could select the form in the language of their choice.

Reflections of the identifying characteristics of the sample are provided in the tables below:

Table A: Age by Sex

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Under 30 years of age	25	43	68 (42.2%)
Over 30 years of age	46	47	93 (57.8%)
<u>Total</u>	<u>71 (44.1%)</u>	<u>90 (55.9%)</u>	<u>161 (100%)</u>

Table B: Qualification by Sex

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Std.7 or lower, with or without teacher training, to Std 9 without teacher training	30	36	66 (41%)
Std.8 or 9, with teacher training, to all higher qualifications	41	54	95 (59%)
	<u>71 (44.1%)</u>	<u>90 (55.9%)</u>	<u>161 (100%)</u>

Table C: Home Languages of respondents

<u>Language</u>	<u>Numbers</u>
Afrikaans	15 (9.3%)
English	1 (0.6%)
German	0
Herero	40 (24.8%)
Kavangali	0
Nama-Damara	68 (42.3%)
Tswana	11 (6.8%)
Owambo languages	18 (11.2%)
Others	<u>8 (5.0%)</u>
	<u>161 (100%)</u>

("Others" consisted of languages of South Africa, such as Xhosa and Zulu.)

Table D: Educational qualification of teachers by classes taught

	<u>Sub.A-Std.1</u>	<u>Stds.2-4</u>	<u>Total</u>
Lower educational category (see Table B)	43	23	66 (41%)
Higher educational category (see table B)	30	65	95 (59%)
<u>Total</u>	<u>73 (45.3%)</u>	<u>88 (54.7%)</u>	<u>161 (100%)</u>

Table E: Medium of instruction in Sub.A-Std.1 as reported by respondents

<u>Medium of Instruction</u>	<u>Number of teachers reported</u>
Afrikaans	3 (1.9%)
Herero	23 (14.3%)
Nama/Damara	59 (36.6%)
Tswana	9 (5.6%)
Owambo languages	11 (6.8%)
Two mediums of instruction	56 (34.8%)
<u>Total</u>	<u>161 (100%)</u>

Table F: Years of teaching experience by sex.

<u>Years of teaching experience</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
One year	0	0
Two years	2 (2.9%)	7 (7.9%)
Three years	3 (4.3%)	5 (5.6%)
Four years	3 (4.3%)	4 (4.5%)
Five years	10 (14.3%)	11 (12.4%)
Six-ten years	25 (35.7%)	41 (46.1%)
Eleven-fifteen years	8 (11.4%)	11 (12.4%)
More than fifteen years	19 (27.1%)	10 (11.1%)
<u>Total</u>	<u>70 (100%)</u>	<u>89 (100%)</u>

(N=159; two respondents did not answer)

Table G: Years of teaching experience by educational qualification.

<u>Years of teaching experience</u>	<u>Lower qualified</u>	<u>Higher qualified</u>
One year	0	0
Two years	2 (3.0%)	7 (7.5%)
Three years	1 (1.5%)	7 (7.5%)
Four years	4 (6.1%)	3 (32.2%)
Five years	5 (7.6%)	16 (17.2%)
Six - ten years	29 (43.9%)	37 (39.8%)
Eleven - fifteen years	10 (15.2%)	9 (9.7%)
More than fifteen years	15 (22.7%)	14 (15.1%)
<u>Total</u>	<u>66 (100%)</u>	<u>93 (100%)</u>

(N=159; two respondents did not reply)

The tables above show data in respect of the four characteristics on the basis of which stratification was done prior to sampling, these being: (1) age, (2) sex, (3) educational qualifications, and (4) home language. The expansion of the school system during the 1980's is reflected in the comparatively high percentage of teachers who are under thirty years of age (44.1%; N=71). It can be inferred from Table G that more recent recruits to the profession are also more highly qualified, although it should be noted that various departments of education are also pursuing vigorous programmes which are aimed at upgrading teachers who are already in service. For the purposes of stratification, a distinction was made between "lower qualifications" and "higher", but as can be seen from Table B, the criteria which are employed were

comparatively lenient. The criterion "higher qualified" includes a large number of teachers who have had only ten years of schooling, with some teacher training, i.e. they do not possess a School-leaving Certificate. Of interest in respect of qualifications is the clear trend which is shown in Table D: twice as many teachers with lower qualifications are employed in teaching the lower primary classes than in teaching higher primary, while the opposite is true for higher qualified teachers. That this is a result of policy can be inferred from the high degree of statistical significance, which applies to the data in Table D ($p > .01$). There is some evidence that the level of qualifications of teachers in Namibia can be a significant factor in respect of attitudes towards aspects of language policy, as will be discussed in the following chapter. Thus the distribution of, and trends in, teacher qualifications might be considered cardinal factors in future language planning.

Tables B and F indicate not only the fact that a comparatively greater number of women are entering primary teaching, but also that the oldest cadres are dominated by men. This is reflected in the small number of female school principals and inspectors of education who were encountered during the course of the research. As will be shown in the following chapter, sex, together with age and home language, appears to have lesser significance in respect of language attitudes, than does teacher qualification.

Table E shows that 34.8% ($n=56$) of the respondents reported that they taught in schools where two, vernacular mediums of instruction were employed in the lower primary classes. These statistics are not absolutely reliable -

during the survey no schools were encountered which had Afrikaans- or Wambo-medium classes in the lower primary phase, as reported in Table E - but experience suggests that the data in the table is reasonably accurate. It will be seen from the results which are reported in the next chapter that dual-medium schools are regarded by some teachers and school principals as contributing towards national divisiveness. This factor was explicitly mentioned in the statement issued by the Minister of National Education during 1987, in respect of the switch by schools in Windhoek to English-medium, when reference was made to the heterogeneous linguistic nature of the school-going population, which gives impetus to the employment of one medium of instruction from an early stage.

Finally, in summary of what has been said above, the tables show that conservatism may operate in at least two important areas of the organization of the primary schools which were surveyed: senior positions are likely to be held by older, lesser-qualified personnel, and the vital lower primary school phase is largely populated by teachers who are in the lesser-qualified category.

7.5 The research hypotheses

The basic design of this research has been set out in Chapter One, as well as at the beginning of this chapter. It has previously been stated, but needs to be re-emphasized here, that the six hypotheses which form the basis of this research arise most directly from the various proposals on educational reform which have been formulated by internal and external parties which are

contending for political power in Namibia. These proposals not only have saliency because of the highly politicised nature of education and society in Namibia, but also (i) because they have been drawn up by educationists who have attempted, within their aims and understandings, to coalesce political viewpoints, theoretical understandings, and pragmatic analyses of the educational situation in Namibia, and (ii) because to a large extent the proposals cogently and accurately reflect the professional and social milieus from which teachers have derived their practices and their theoretical understandings. The teachers are themselves both part of, and product of, the history, philosophies and practices which have given rise to these proposals. For instance, where most proposals for educational reform in Namibia argue overwhelmingly for the employment of one language of wider communication as the sole medium of instruction for the majority of school years, they are reflecting both historical practice in Namibia - thus the context of the teachers' own experiences, as pupils themselves, and as educators - and conventional, wide-spread practice in many similar situations elsewhere.

Further, where these proposals present arguments for the phasing-in of the language of wider communication as medium of instruction, instead of its abrupt introduction into the system, they are reflecting what has been done both formally and unofficially in Namibian schools for many years. Where the proposals espouse types of bi- or multilingualism as a policy basis for education in Namibia, they are providing no more than a formal rationale for a long-standing, existing state of affairs

in the large majority of schools in Namibia. In respect of the subject of this study, English medium instruction, while those who advocate English as a medium of instruction might seem to be making a radical proposal grounded in radical political aims, it might, in reality, rather be regarded as the espousal of a variation on a widespread, conventional policy, that of employing the high-status language of a minority as the major medium of instruction, for widely-received political, social, technical and economic reasons.

Finally, and above all, the hypotheses have been derived from politicitically-espoused proposals for educational reform in Namibia on the realistic assumption that these do, in fact, represent the actual options from which policy choices will be made in the immediate and medium-term future. Education in Namibia is, and will continue to be, a highly politicised matter, in respect of which politicians will invariably attempt to restrict as far as possible the possibility of differentiated implementations, or the likelihood of unforeseen outcomes.

At this point, the place of the ten-point "Ideal Model of Bilingual Education in Namibia" (see previous chapter) should be explained, in relation to the hypotheses, and to the survey research. The model has been derived from a study of relevant research and theory in bilingual education, which has been critically applied on a comparative basis to the situation in Namibia, as interpreted. As such, it does, of course, exhibit tensions - as do all other proposals on language policy in education in Namibia, perhaps most honestly revealed in

Towards a language policy for Namibia (UNIN, 1981). The model attempts to be realistic, in that it accepts certain historical and material facts as given, such as the positions of the vernacular languages and the sentiments in favour of English, while at the same time it is "idealistic" to the extent that it attempts to propose what might best be done if certain variables which can be manipulated are in fact more positively manifested. As examples of the latter, one may refer to the advocacy, in the model, of the promotion of effective reading skills and reading methods, and the concern for enquiry-based, child-centred classroom methodology. These particular proposals are idealistic in the sense that they note what should best be done, to achieve academic success; they are **realistic** in the sense that they claim that, under conditions in Namibia, these things can be done and are, also, essential for the effective implementation of a bilingual educational system. In other words, not only **should** they be done, but they **can** and **must** be done. In these ways, and in others, the ten-point ideal model of bilingual education attempts to marry idealism and reality, while not moving beyond what is in fact either necessary, and possible, in the light of current conditions, resources and attitudes.

The six hypotheses are employed in this research as the basis for the survey, and other, related procedures, in order to investigate the attitudes of the sample of teachers towards key concerns of the proposals for language in education in Namibia. The ten-point "ideal model for bilingual education" constitutes both a separate

proposal and, in the context of this research, a touchstone against which the attitudes of the teachers can be examined. The final part of this work will present the conclusions and recommendations in respect of the implementation of English as a medium of instruction. These will be of two kinds: first, conclusions and recommendations as to what can be implemented in a more limited form, within the context of the proposals for educational reform in Namibia; secondly, what can be implemented in order to give effect to the proposals contained in the ten-point "ideal model of bilingual education". The first set of recommendations will thus be more limited in scope, based on a scenario in which the authorities will not attempt implementation measures which are too wide-ranging, or which depart too drastically from conventional practices. The second set of recommendations is more innovative, being based on an assessment of what should, preferably, be done to maximize effectiveness. Both sets of conclusions and recommendations are closely informed by the research into the attitudes of teachers, because the findings will guide the assessments of the degrees of ease or difficulty in implementing various aspects of the various proposals, either those which have been officially produced internally and externally, on the one hand, or those contained in the ten-point "ideal model" which was produced as a product of this research, on the other hand.

The final part of this section restates the hypotheses on which the survey research was based, and provides an explanation of the origins of each one of the hypotheses:

1. English is favoured as the major medium of

instruction : By "major" in this case is meant the medium of instruction which will be employed in the largest number of school grades. The hypothesis arises from the clear preference for English-medium instruction in all but the lower primary school which was displayed in the relevant sections of the language survey which was conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (1982), as well as from the espousal of this language by the SWAPO-orientated and UNIN-centred proposals. The hypothesis also arises from the clear public pressures in favour of English-medium instruction in Namibia, which have led during the 1980's to its steady implementation in the schools which are controlled by various local authorities.

2. **Teachers will consider themselves insufficiently trained and insufficiently proficient in the second language(s) for the effective implementation of the medium of instruction policy:** This hypothesis particularly applies to proficiency in English, and does arise, in part, from consideration of the various proposals on language in education in Namibia. Language proficiency of teachers is a particular concern of the drafters of Volume 4 of the Advieskomitee vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing (AGN) (1982) report, as well as the United Nations Institute for Namibia (1981) report, and the publication of the proceedings of the Seminar on the English Language Programme for Namibians (SWAPO and Commonwealth Secretariat, 1983). The latter two reports both advocate English-medium instruction, and hence are concerned that the proficiency of teachers in English, considered to be inadequate at present, should be improved to facilitate the implementation of the policy. In large measure, however, this hypothesis arises from practical experience,

and from an assessment of the historical situation, in which teachers have themselves been schooled and trained in Afrikaans-medium, have employed it to a great extent in the classroom, and have lived in a society in which Afrikaans is a major lingua franca. Many teachers have had very little contact with English, whether formally or informally. To a lesser extent the hypothesis applies to Afrikaans proficiency as well, because many Namibian teachers have low qualifications, some with no teacher training at all, and live and work in environments where there is very little contact with Afrikaans on a first-language basis.

3. There will be agreement that the vernacular languages cannot be major mediums of instruction: This hypothesis is, of course, a direct corollary of Hypothesis One. It is a basic constituent of all the proposals on language in education in Namibia, with the exception of Volume 4 of the AGN (1982) report, which advocates the maximum use of the mother tongues as mediums of instruction. This latter proposal is, however, directly refuted by the central committee of that investigation (AGN, Volume 5: 1983), which pronounces in favour of the earliest possible use of either English or Afrikaans as medium of instruction. The consensus amongst all proposals (excluding the one mentioned above) is, strongly, that mother tongue instruction either alone or together with the second language as medium, should be employed only in the junior primary phase, followed by an immediate, or phased, transition to full employment of the second language as medium of instruction. The UNIN (1981) proposals also provide an option of the use of the second language medium of instruction from the earliest school year.

This hypothesis reflects the historical practice in Namibia, as well as the policy since 1981 in Owambo, the first authority under which English-medium has been implemented on a wide scale.

4. **There will be support for a "mixed medium" approach:** The phrase "mixed medium" is used in the UNIN (1981) proposals, where it refers to a period during which both the mother tongue and the second language are used as mediums of instruction during the same school phase. The practice is also directly implied in all the proposals on language in education in Namibia, which have served as major sources of these hypotheses, in that they advocate the careful phasing-in of the second language as medium of instruction. Thus, by implication, they countenance a period during which both languages will be serving as mediums, until the mother tongue is fully phased-out in favour of the second language. The practice is also suggested by complaints of educationists in Namibia, that teachers frequently continue to instruct through medium of the mother tongue, to some extent, even where the second language is officially the medium of instruction (cf. Advieskomitee vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing (AGN), Volume 4: 1982; Zimmermann, 1983, 1984). It is a practice which is widely referred to by those who know conditions in classrooms, such as inspectors of education, subject advisers, and academics who have contact with schools.

5. **There will be uncertainty over whether or not pupils benefit scholastically from the use of the mother tongue as medium of instruction:** The two proposals which have been written by internal bodies in Namibia (AGN, Volume 4, 1982, and Education Committee, 1985) strongly propound the

necessity of using the mother tongue as the initial medium of instruction, for the oft-cited "educational" or "pedagogic" reasons (cf. Chapter Five), namely that this practice promotes better concept formation, and allows smoother transition between the home and school. Other proposals which emphasise other criteria, such as UNIN (1981) and SWAPO and Commonwealth Secretariat (1983), do acknowledge this argument, but accord it lesser weight in the rationales for their proposals.

However, as has been noted in earlier chapters, there is no unambiguous experimental evidence that the mother tongue is invariably the most effective initial medium of instruction, in terms of maximizing the chance of the pupils achieving academic success. Rather, the evidence is to the contrary, although not definitive because of contextual factors.

The extreme aversion to mother tongue instruction in any form in Namibia, because of its association with apartheid and Bantu Education, has already been referred to. In addition, in the central areas of Namibia, the Namibia Teachers Union (NAMOV) has made representations to the authorities for the abandonment of mother tongue instruction, not only because of the reasons above, but because the application of the policy is considered to keep children of different ethnic groups apart, in separate classrooms within the same school. Indeed, as has been shown in Chapter Four, antagonism to the mother tongue policy has historical antecedents in protests which were made during the 1930's.

This hypothesis arises not only from the situations which have been discussed above, but perhaps most cogently from the perception that the debate concerning mother tongue instruction in Namibia has, in fact, very little to do with "educational" or "pedagogic" criteria at all - concerning which there are, in any case, no clear experimental proofs - but is rather directly concerned with economic and political criteria.

6. There will be disagreement over whether or not the educational system should be used to promote recognition of, and respect for, cultural diversity and authentic traditions: The internal proposals on education in Namibia, being written within the South African colonial context, strongly propagate the necessity of mother tongue-medium instruction as a means of bolstering cultural identities. Even the AGN head committee proposals (Volume 5, 1983), while completely overturning the recommendations of their own committee on language in education, make strong reference to the necessity of preserving group identity in the forms of educational control. On the other hand, the proposals written externally have, of necessity, a somewhat ambiguous stance towards the matter: they deplore the deleterious, ethnically divisive practices of the past, while at the same time acknowledging that practice in an independent Namibia will in all likelihood encourage some use of local languages in education as a means of sustaining pride in authentic, Namibian cultures.

It should also be noted that whereas the majority of Namibians advocate an independent and united Namibia, i.e. nationism, there is no evidence at all that they thereby deny the worth of their own particular backgrounds. The

question rather concerns the degree of emphasis which should properly be given to the local vis a vis the national, and how this should be reflected in policies and in structures. In linguistic terms, this is reflected in a search for the proper weighting which should be given to languages in their private and communicative manifestations (cf. Edwards, 1984).

In multilingual situations, these debates and solutions are always complex, seldom fixed, frequently shifting. It is thus not surprising that the issue should be an extremely volatile one in Namibia, where people have suffered under apartheid and colonial domination for many years, and where national self-determination has not yet been achieved. The question can never be satisfactorily settled under current conditions; whatever structures are proposed, no matter what their nature or cause, they will inevitably be open to suspicion and disaffection while the majority of Namibians feel themselves to be the victims of oppression and discrimination. As has already been remarked at various stages in this work, the successful implementation of a social policy largely depends on the degree of public assent which attaches to it. Assent is, in turn, in significant measure a function of the legitimacy which is accorded to policy-makers by those whose behaviour is the targeted policy outcome.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER SEVEN: TABLE H

Interview Schedule: Final Survey

DATE VISITED (1986)	NAME OF SCHOOL	PLACE	NUMBER INTERVIEWED	PRINCIPAL INTERVIEWED
11 April	Damara No. 3	Windhoek	7	-
11, 14 April	Augeikhas	Windhoek	9	-
18 April, 9 June	Theo Katjimune	Windhoek	7	-
25 April	St. Barnabas	Windhoek	7	-
5, 14 May	Auas	Windhoek	8	-
12, 15, 19 May	Mandume	Windhoek	9	-
22 May	Namutuni	Windhoek	4	-
18 June	Bethold Himunuine	Windhoek	2	-
24 June	Da Palm	Otjimbingwe	2	Yes
24 June	Otjimbingwe	Otjimbingwe	6	-
15 July	Otavi	Otavi	2	Yes
16 July	Makalani	Grootfontein	7	Yes
17 July	Tsumeb	Tsumeb	2	Yes
17 July	Opawa	Tsumeb	3	Yes
18 July	Ugab	Outjo	3	Yes
21 July	Rogate	Otjiwarongo	5	Yes
22 July	Otjiwarongo	Otjiwarongo	5	Yes
22 July	Spes Bona	Otjiwarongo	2	Yes
23 July	Karundu	Otjiwarongo	7	Yes
24 July	Noordweide	rural, near Outjo	5	Yes
25 July	Kalkfeld	Kalkfeld	2	Yes
10 September	Baumgartsbrunn	rural, near Windhoek	1	-
11 September	Hochfels	rural, near Windhoek	1	-
6 October	Paheye	Omaruru	3	Yes
6 October	Ubasen	Omaruru	2	-
6 October	Waldfrieden	rural, near Omaruru	3	-

DATE VISITED (1986)	NAME OF SCHOOL	PLACE	NUMBER INTER-VIEWED	PRINCIPAL INTER-VIEWED
20 October	Goas	rural, near Karibib	6	Yes
20 October	Ebenhaeser	Karibib	3	Yes
21 October	Elifa Goseb	Usakos	8	Yes
22 October	Vrede Rede	Swakopmund	3	Yes
2 November	Dr H. Vedder	Mariental	5	Yes
2 November	Jakob Soul	Stampriet	2	Yes
3 November	Cambridge	rural, near Aranos	1	-
3 November	Rooiduin	Aranos	3	-
4 November	Aminuis	Hereroland East	2	Yes
4 November	Naosanabis	Leonardville	1	-
9 November	Epukiro	rural, near Gobabis	5	Yes
10 November	Gobabis	Gobabis	4	Yes
10 November	Gunichas	rural, near Gobabis	4	Yes
TOTALS:	39		161	23

CHAPTER EIGHT: ANALYSING THE RESULTS

In this chapter, the results of the survey are discussed and analysed, hypothesis by hypothesis. An ongoing attempt is made, not only to place the results within the context of significant aspects of the work up to this point, but also to reflect upon them in terms of the current language practices and policies, and teachers' perceptions of these.

Although the survey comprises the major research instrument, a number of ancillary means were also employed, of which the chief are:

- (1) Interviews with school principals, which were conducted according to a separate schedule of questions;
- (2) The English (Reading) Proficiency Test;
- (3) Classroom observation.

Full and separate discussions of these are provided in Appendices to this work. However, data, findings and impressions which were gained via the employment of these means will be incorporated into the general analyses of results, to provide additional illumination.

In this analysis, "Item" refers to a question item in the survey questionnaire, which is reproduced in full as Appendix H.

8.1. **Hypothesis 1:** English will be favoured as the major medium of instruction.

By "major" is meant the language medium which is, or will be, employed for the largest number of classes, and that medium which has prestige as a result of being the medium of instruction of the higher classes.

In discussing Hypothesis 1, the major questionnaire items of consequence are 1,2, and 3:

Item 1: The following language or combination of languages should ideally be used as the medium of instruction in Sub-standards A and B.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Mother tongue	24	14.9%
Afrikaans	36	22.4%
English	24	14.9%
A combination of Afrikaans and mother tongue	28	17.3%
A combination of English and mother tongue	<u>49</u>	<u>30.5%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

The responses to this item should be seen in the light of the long-standing practice, throughout Namibia, of employing the mother tongues as the **only** mediums of instruction in the junior primary school phase. It is a policy, already long established by then, which was advocated by the report of the 1958 Commission of Enquiry into Non-White Education, by the chief editor of the Human Sciences Research Council language survey (1982) at an educational symposium (Prinsloo, 1983), and by the language sub-committee of the AGN educational commission (1982-83); it is also one of the major options presented in the proposals made by the U.N. Institute for Namibia (1981), and in the Report of the Seminar on the English Language Programme for Namibians (SWAPO and Commonwealth Secretariat, 1983). As the interviews with school principals showed (see Appendix D), the employment of the mother tongues as the only mediums of instruction in the junior primary phase is the

only policy followed in all the schools which were visited in the course of the survey.

It is therefore noteworthy that the results of responses to item 1 show significant rejection of this policy as it stands, with only 14.9% of respondents advocating the mother tongue as the sole medium of instruction. However, this cannot be interpreted as a complete rejection of the mother tongues as medium, because there is significant support for these together with English (30.5%) and, to a lesser extent, with Afrikaans (17.3%). In general, it may be inferred that, while the policy of employing the mother tongues as the **only** mediums of instruction in the junior primary phase is rejected, there is no obvious agreement on what alternative policy is preferred. The responses to the "combinations" (mother tongue, with English or Afrikaans) might suggest support of some significance for the "mixed medium" hypothesis (see later), and for the strongly bilingual aspect of the Ideal Model which was presented at the conclusion of Chapter Six.

Item 2 investigated preferences for medium of instruction in Standards 2 to 4, the senior primary phase. It will be seen that the mother tongue as sole medium receives virtually no support (0.6%), whereas both Afrikaans and English increase in predominance (34.8% and 32.3%, respectively).

Item 2: The following language or combination of languages should ideally be used as the medium of instruction in Standards 2 to 4.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Mother tongue	1	0.6%
Afrikaans	56	34.8%
English	52	32.3%
A combination of Afrikaans and mother tongue	3	8.0%
A combination of English and mother tongue	<u>39</u>	<u>24.3%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

These results may represent a degree of conservatism amongst the teachers - by conservatism, in this context, is meant an acceptance of long-standing and current practices - because it has been policy in the central and southern areas since 1920 to switch to one of the official languages as medium of instruction in Standard 2. At the time of the survey, Afrikaans had been long established as medium. It will be seen in the report on the interviews with school principals (Appendix D) that half of those interviewed favoured retention of the present practice of switching to the language of wider communication as medium in Standard 2. The remainder favoured the employment of this language (Afrikaans or English) from the first school year. The large majority of the school principals reported that their pupils improve rapidly in their command of the second language after its introduction as medium of instruction in Standard 2, giving rise to the suspicion that they favour the "maximum exposure hypothesis", i.e. that the pupils will improve in language proficiency in direct relationship to the number of hours, classes and school years during which they are exposed to the language. The

relatively strong support (24.3%) for the employment of English and the mother tongue, in combination, is unexpected, and may reflect the caution of a substantial number of teachers who favour greater use of English as medium, but are apprehensive of their, and their pupils', proficiency in the language. Certainly, the school principals freely acknowledged the extent of these apprehensions, while at the same time, in many cases, adopting the pragmatic attitude that there would be no improvement until English was introduced as a medium of instruction, when proficiency in English would perforce improve.

Hypothesis 1 is borne out to a significant extent by the responses to item 3:

Item 3: The following language or combination of languages should ideally be used as the medium of instruction in Standards 5 to 10 (secondary school).

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Mother tongue	1	0.6%
Afrikaans	25	15.5%
English	108	67.1%
A combination of Afrikaans and mother tongue	2	1.3%
A combination of English and mother tongue	<u>25</u>	<u>15.5%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

Here there is strong support for English in the most

prestigious phase of the school - that phase which conventionally has a strong influence on content and patterns in the lower grades. There are, of course, striking anomalies between the results shown for items 2 and 3. When similar patterns were found for these items in the pilot survey, the teachers who were subsequently interviewed in small groups admitted that they and their colleagues generally favoured English-medium even for the higher primary phase but, being apprehensive of their proficiency in the language, showed by their responses that they considered that the policy should first be introduced in the secondary school, where teachers were thought to be more capable of implementing it. The results of item 3 do, in part, bear out Hypothesis 1, that English will be favoured as the major medium of instruction, although qualified by the relatively strong support which is given to Afrikaans in the senior primary phase (item 2).

As a check on the responses to items 1-3, the teachers were asked to respond to three further items:

Item 4: The most suitable language to be used as the medium of instruction for teaching Mathematics in Standard 3 is:

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Mother tongue	6	3.8%
Afrikaans	83	51.6%
English	42	26.1%
A combination of Afrikaans and mother tongue	16	9.9%
A combination of English and mother tongue	<u>14</u>	<u>8.6%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

Item 5: The most suitable language to be used as the medium of instruction for teaching Biblical Studies in Standard 3 is:

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Mother tongue	12	7.6%
Afrikaans	74	46.0%
English	47	29.2%
A combination of Afrikaans and mother tongue	14	8.6%
A combination of English and mother tongue	<u>14</u>	<u>8.6%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100</u>

Item 6: The most suitable language to be used as the medium of instruction in teaching Health Education in Standard 3 is:

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Mother tongue	1	0.6%
Afrikaans	81	50.3%
English	54	33.6%
A combination of Afrikaans and mother tongue	16	9.9%
A combination of English and mother tongue	<u>9</u>	<u>5.6%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100</u>

In these items, the content concentrated attention on preferences with respect to mediums of instruction for

specific school subjects in the senior primary school. Here there is an increase in support for Afrikaans-medium, compared with responses to item 2, averaging about 50% over the three items. Standard 3 was chosen as the target year in the wording of the three items because it is, under present conditions, the second year in which the second language has been implemented as medium of instruction. It is thus likely to be, in the minds of the teachers, a year on which they can focus as one in which language practice is firmly established. It is hypothesised that the increased preference for Afrikaans in items 4-6, as against item 2, reflects the actual apprehensions of the teachers concerning their proficiency in English, when they are required to focus directly on subjects which many of them teach. In other words, the wording of items 4-6 enables the teachers more directly to imagine themselves in actual classroom situations. In comparison with the results of item 2, there is a noticeable drop in support for the English/mother tongue combination, suggesting that this choice in item 2 may not actually be regarded as realistic when attention is more firmly concentrated on classroom situations, as in items 4-6.

The trend of the responses to these items (4-6) may be inferred to have a close relationship with the teachers' assessments of their own proficiencies in English. In the analysis of the results of the English Proficiency Test (see Appendix F) which was administered to all respondents, it will be seen that a high degree of statistical significance ($p > .02$) attaches to the relationship between English reading proficiency and the

qualifications of teachers, i.e. the higher-qualified group also have higher proficiency. Similar significance ($p > .01$) also attaches to the responses to items 4-6 of the questionnaire, if analysed in respect of the lower- and higher-qualified groups of respondents: approximately half of the latter group indicate a preference for English-medium, or a combination of English and the mother tongue, for the teaching of the school subjects which are named in those items, whereas less than twenty percent of the lower-qualified group do so. Conservatism in linguistic preferences is thus far more marked in the case of less-qualified group, and there are strong grounds for inferring that there is a direct relationship between these preferences and their proficiency in English. This inference is further supported by the high statistical significances which attach, vis a vis the lower- and higher-qualified groups, in respect of the results of item 1 and 2 of the questionnaire:

Preference for English, or English/mother tongue combination (other choices for items 1 and 2 are not shown here)

	Junior primary school (item 1)	Senior primary school (item 2)	Total number in each group
Lower-qualified	19 (28.8%)	29 (43.9%)	66
Higher-qualified	59 (56.8%)	63 (66.3%)	95

($p > .002$)

($p > .01$)

(Statistical significances represent calculations based on responses to all five choices, per item.)

(The percentages reflect proportions of the total responses to all five options presented in each item.)

Thus it may be seen that 56.8% of the higher-qualified group, those significantly more proficient in English, indicated a preference for either the English, or English/mother tongue combination, in item 1 (junior primary school); similarly, 66.3% of the group indicated these preferences in the case of item 2 (senior primary school). Far smaller proportions of the lower-qualified group of teachers, those less proficient in English, indicated similar preferences in the same items. It will be seen as this analysis by hypothesis progresses, that high statistical significance of responses by qualification of teachers attaches to fifteen out of the thirty-four main items in the questionnaire (see Table I, later), whereas very little statistical significance attaches to responses broken down by the other primary characteristics on which the sample selection was based (age, sex, and home language). It is inferred that a complex of factors operates to produce this significant result. The higher-qualified group are more proficient in English; they are more secure in their employment, being under far less pressure to improve their qualifications quickly, or face possible replacement; they are also less involved in teaching in the junior primary phase which, as statements made by the Minister of National Education revealed during 1987 (the year

after the survey), will be the target school phase for the switch to English-medium instruction from 1988 onwards.

In summary, the data which have bearing on Hypothesis 1 do not provide unqualified support of the proposition that English will be favoured as the major medium of instruction, except for the secondary school phase, where there is large support for English-medium. What seems to be indicated is a desire for a departure from the conventional language patterns which have been employed for many decades: that is, support is shown for the use of one of the languages of wider communication in even the junior primary phase, either alone or together with the mother tongue, and quite high support for either English, or English in combination with the mother tongue, in the senior primary phase, which has been the exclusive locus of Afrikaans since 1920. Thus, taking the existing patterns as the base, i.e. mother-tongue instruction in junior primary, followed by Afrikaans-medium, it may be concluded that there is evidence of a significant orientation of opinion towards the employment of English-medium instruction. This is quite noteworthy in view of the strong vested interests which so many teachers would seem to have in the maintenance of existing practices. Afrikaans, for instance, is the language in which they have been educated, have been trained, and in which they have conducted their careers. Yet many of the teachers seem willing to countenance a change to English, in spite of their own apprehensions, and in spite of the heavy demands which this will make on their time and energy. It is hypothesised that this trend will increase, given

the fact that the younger teachers entering the profession are also more highly qualified (see Table G, Chapter Seven), and in the light of the fact that the higher-qualified group of teachers show statistically significant preferences for English-medium.

TABLE I: Results by Lower- and Higher-qualified groups of teachers (Items in the questionnaire which show statistical significance of $p > .05$, or higher)

<u>Item</u>	<u>Wording (abbreviated)</u>	<u>Significance</u>
1	Language medium for Sub-standards A and B	$p > .02$
2	Language medium for Standards 2 to 4	$p > .01$
4	Language medium for Mathematics in Standard 3	$p > .01$
5	Language medium for Biblical Studies in Standard 3	$p > .01$
5	Language medium for Health Education in Standard 3	$p > .001$
8	Pupils do better if mother tongue medium in Standard 3	$p > .001$
11	Pupils do better if L2 only medium from Sub.A	$p > .001$
13.2	Pupils should be allowed to use m.t. to answer tests	$p > .02$
14.1	M.t should be used because then pupils learn best	$p > .02$
14.3	M.t. developes intelligence best	$p > .02$
16	More reading materials in English	$p > .01$

- 2.2 M.t. should be school subject in senior primary $p > .05$
- 22.3 M.t. should be school subject in secondary school $p > .02$
- 23.2 M.t. - not lose respect for culture and traditions $p > .05$

Note: The full wording of the items may be consulted in the questionnaire, which is reproduced as Appendix H.

8.2 Hypothesis 2: Teachers consider themselves insufficiently trained, and insufficiently proficient in the second language(s), for the effective implementation of present and future language medium policies in education.

In Appendix A, the results of responses to item 32 of the questionnaire are given. In this, respondents were asked to complete the statement (with reasons): "It is important for me as a teacher to improve my competence in the following language/s". It is significant that 134 respondents (83.23% of the total) chose to mention English, a total of 181 separate reasons being given. As will be seen from Appendix A, the largest cluster of reasons (41.4% of all responses) is categorised as broadly educational, the major reasons being the desire to be better fitted for the classroom, or the expectation that English will, or should be, the medium of instruction. The next largest cluster of reasons given, and the largest single response of all (30.0%) can be summed up in the statement "English is the international language". This statement might appear to be ambiguous

as a response to a question concerning in which language/s the respondents should improve as teachers, but it does indicate a keen awareness of the fact that all language choices in education are primarily political, as well as identification with the main reasons for which English is advocated extensively in Namibia. The third largest cluster of reasons (25.4%) concerns general internal communication, and has to do with the existing place of English as a means of communication within the country, or advocacy of its increased use and status.

From the responses to item 32, one may legitimately infer that the majority of teachers can be placed on at least stage 2 of Cooper's "Scale of Behavioural Pervasiveness" in respect of English (see Chapter Five), that is, at the stage of positive evaluation of a language. The next stage is gaining proficiency, and it would appear that many of the teachers are willing to do so, in spite of the personal costs.

As the results of the responses to item 25 show, there is a fairly even spread of opinion amongst the teachers in respect of their self-assessments of their own proficiency in English:

Item 25: My own command of English is good.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	4	2.5%
Disagree	47	29.2%
Don't know/uncertain	40	24.9%
Agree	56	34.8%
Strongly agree	<u>14</u>	<u>8.6%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

In this item, statistical significance attaches by sex ($p > .05$); it is the only item to which this applies. Significance does not attach here by any of the other primary sampling characteristics (languages, age, qualifications). In responses to item 25, 55.4% of males agreed/strongly agreed that their command of English is good, whereas only 33.4% of females did so. This result may reflect the more conservative linguistic attitudes and preferences of woman in many societies (cf. Trudgill, 1974), together with their greater caution in a male-dominated environment. As Table E3 in Appendix E shows, there is no significant statistical evidence that the men are, in fact, more proficient in English than the women are.

Appendices E and F provide the results of, and a discussion of, the English Proficiency Test which was taken by all respondents after they had completed the questionnaire. The table of results shows that only 21.01% of the respondents placed on the top three levels of the test, "A", "X" and "Unsimplified". Level "A" indicates "advanced ability, capable of tackling unsimplified material slowly", according to the designer of the test. A further 62.43% of the sample are placed at the lower levels "D", "C" and "B", indicating intermediate to upper intermediate reading ability in English: that is, the ability to read suitably graded material with ninety percent comprehension. Thus the caution of the respondents in assessing their own proficiency in English seems to be quite justified, in the light of the evidence of the results of the English Proficiency Test.

Were Afrikaans not so closely identified with white, Afrikaner hegemony, it would, at least in the central areas, appear to have many reasons for continued existence as the major medium of instruction. The results of this survey, however, appear to indicate that many teachers are prepared to make considerable personal sacrifices to implement English-medium instruction, in spite of the relatively low proficiency in English of many, as attested by their own opinions, and by more objective sources.

The respondents in the survey were also asked to indicate the degree of their approval of in-service training programmes which are intended to improve their proficiency in various languages:

Item 27: Teachers who are already teaching in schools, should be able to attend in-service training courses:

27.1 to improve their command of their own mother tongue.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Stongly disagree	7	4.3%
Disagree	23	14.3%
Don't know/uncertain	13	8.0%
Agree	48	29.9%
Strongly agree	<u>70</u>	<u>43.5%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

27.2 to improve their command of Afrikaans.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	6	3.7%
Disagree	9	5.6%
Don't know/uncertain	10	6.2%
Agree	69	42.9%
Strongly agree	<u>67</u>	<u>41.6%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

27.3: to improve their command of English.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	2	1.2%
Disagree	1	0.6%
Don't know/uncertain	4	2.5%
Agree	43	26.7%
Strongly agree	<u>111</u>	<u>70.0%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

27.4: to improve their command of another language used in Namibia.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	16	9.9%
Disagree	28	17.4%
Don't know/uncertain	26	16.1%
Agree	45	28.0%
Strongly agree	<u>46</u>	<u>28.6%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

While the results above show a slight superiority of preference for in-service training courses which are intended to improve command of English, no clear tendency emerges. The teachers appear to approve of in-service training courses in general! This is not unexpected, in a situation where many teachers are poorly-qualified, and

where there are few opportunities for professional contacts because of large distances.

This response is significant in view of the efforts by the Department of National Education to provide such courses for teachers in preparation for the change-over to English as a medium of instruction in primary schools in Windhoek in 1988. What is not investigated here, however, is the expectations of teachers as to what these courses should comprise. The analysis of the results of this survey, and an understanding of the situation in the schools, would suggest that a substantial component of any in-service training course should be concerned not only with language proficiency per se, but with methods and approaches. The nature and teaching of reading proficiency, the differentiated acquisition of the four language skills in the second language medium of instruction, and patience and flexibility in implementing the medium of instruction policy, should be primary topics in the in-service training curriculum.

The factors which have been discussed in the analyses of the results which have bearing on Hypotheses 1 and 2 require that a change in the medium of instruction policy should be conducted with sensitivity and with consultation, particularly taking into account the wide range of proficiencies in English, and the clearly demarcated, differing attitudes of teachers with different levels of qualifications.

In summary, it may be said in respect of Hypothesis 2 that the proposition is borne out only if future language policies in education comprise a strong component of English-medium instruction - as, indeed, is likely. Many teachers are cautious about their proficiency in English, and this tendency is most clearly discernible in the lower-qualified group, who will have to bear the brunt of any policy which aims to introduce English as a medium of instruction in the junior primary school. This policy was actually being negotiated between school committees and the Minister of National Education at the time of the survey, in 1986.

Given these apprehensions, and the evident unpreparedness of the teachers most affected by the policy, it may be asked just how the decision was taken, and why it is to be implemented with such haste. It is a decision taken to gain political credibility, as evidenced by the fact that negotiations took place between school committees and the Minister himself, and by the Minister's direct hand in implementation. It is a decision fraught with problematical implications, not only for the reasons stated above, but because there is as yet no sign that it is to be backed up by similar adaptations in other branches of the civil service, which are major employers of labour and which, has been noted in Chapter Four,

appear rather to be intensifying the use of Afrikaans. The English-medium decision thus appears to indicate tensions within the South African-appointed cabinet itself, in which some influential ministers are conservative, white Afrikaners.

8.3. Hypothesis 3: There is agreement that the vernaculars should not be used as major mediums of instruction.

The hypothesis is, in a sense, a corollary of Hypothesis 1, that English will be favoured as the major medium of instruction. In discussing results which have bearing on Hypothesis 1, it was shown that there is unambiguous rejection of the long-standing policy of employing the mother tongues as the sole mediums of instruction in the junior primary school, although there was significant support for the use of those languages in combination with either English or Afrikaans. It was stated that it was uncertain whether these results show definite approval of a "mixed medium" approach, or merely a cautiously-expressed desire for a change of policy. What can be said with certainty is that the results of items 1-3 of the questionnaire certainly do appear to indicate an acceptance of, and probably a desire for, a change in policy. The direction of change was probably relatively unfocussed at the time of the survey in 1986, for many reasons, one of them being that negotiations were under way to effect a change, but that the result had not yet been made known.

In item 33 of the questionnaire respondents were asked to provide free-response completions to the statement "The major problems in connection with the teaching of, or use of, language/s in my school are..." The results are provided in Appendix B . It will be noted that a significant number indicated that the second language was not sufficiently heard, used or practised outside of the school. Almost equally, there was concern at the fact that the children are not sufficiently competent in the language in which they are taught. While this might superficially seem to be an argument for the employment of mother tongue-medium instruction, the respondents make it plain that this state of affairs is attributed to the switch-over of language medium in the fourth year. It is the prolonged use of the mother tongue-medium which is considered to be at fault. From this and other responses it is obvious that teachers are of the opinion that any adjustment in educational language policy should be in the direction of **more extensive** use of the second language as medium of instruction.

However, these responses are complemented in a cautionary fashion by the record of answers to item 34 of the questionnaire (see Appendix C), in which teachers were asked to complete the following statement on a free-response basis: "Many Namibian pupils leave school during the first three or four years because..." It will be seen from the extensive list of answers that a very small number of responses mention language as a cause of the high drop-out rate. In fact, schooling variables as

a whole are considered to be much less significant than social and personal factors, of which parental and home characteristics form by far the most important cluster. This corroborates the opinion which is expressed by many researchers in bilingual education, as discussed earlier in this work, that language is not a primary, causal factor in academic success or failure, and that, indeed, language decisions in education must necessarily be taken within a complex set of broad considerations. By their answers to item 34, the teachers seem to share these theoretical understandings; it may with good reason be asked whether teachers, the prime implementers of educational policy, will be content with a change in language policy which is not set within a complex of improvements in the underlying sociopolitical and economic factors which influence educational attainment.

It would appear that there are tensions in the minds of many teachers, who might seem to accept the conventional "pedagogical" reasons advanced for the early employment of mother tongue instruction, when presented in isolation from other factors (as above) which carry more weight:

Item 7: Pupils will do better at school if the mother tongue is used as medium of instruction in Sub-standard A.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	17	10.6%
Disagree	48	29.8%
Don't know/uncertain	12	7.5%
Agree	33	20.5%
Strongly agree	<u>51</u>	<u>31.6%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

To this response, statistical significance attaches by age ($p > .05$), with a significant percentage of teachers over the age of 30 years showing **strong** agreement with the statement (38.7% of this group do so). Taken over the whole table, however, there is a relatively even spread of answers over the agree/strongly agree, and disagree/strongly disagree responses, with very few of either age group adopting the intermediate position.

However, results of item 7 reveal something of a contradiction when compared with the results of item 11.

Item 11: Pupils will do better at school if the second language (English or Afrikaans) is used as the only medium of instruction from the beginning of Sub. A.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	17	10.6%
Disagree	21	13.0%
Don't know/uncertain	15	9.3%
Agree	37	23.0%
Strongly agree	<u>71</u>	<u>44.1%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

This matter will be discussed in detail in the analysis of results with bearing on Hypothesis 5, but it may briefly be stated here that the contradiction arises in part from an apparent inconsistency in responses on the part of the lower-qualified group of teachers (in the sense that consistency demands that disagreement with one statement requires agreement with the other, and vice versa).

While there is a relatively even spread of responses to the proposition of item 7, that pupils will do better at school if the mother tongue is used as medium in the junior primary school, there is significant rejection of the statement when applied to Standard 3, the second year in which the language of wider communication is established as medium of instruction, by long-standing practice:

Item 8: Pupils will do better at school if the mother tongue is used as medium of instruction in Standard 3.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	39	24.2%
Disagree	85	52.8%
Don't know/uncertain	21	13.0%
Agree	9	5.6%
Strongly agree	<u>7</u>	<u>4.4%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

High statistical significance by qualification of teachers attaches to these responses ($p > .001$), reflecting the fact that 86.3% of the higher-qualified group disagree/strongly disagree with the statement, as against 62.1% of the lower-qualified group who do so. The particularly high statistical significance arises from the fact that 34.7% of the first group strongly disagree with the statement, as against only 7.8% of the lower-qualified group who do so.

It has been shown in earlier chapters that a powerful argument for the use of a second language as medium, in

multilingual situations in which minority-majority linguistic status pertains, is based on material or technical factors. By this is meant the fact that the minority languages are frequently considered to be inadequate for educational use because they lack a standardised orthography, developed vocabulary, and an extensive or appropriate literature. It may be hypothesized from the results of responses to item 9 that these perceptions play a role in the general rejection of the mother tongues for higher educational purposes, i.e. from the senior primary school upwards:

Item 9: There are enough printed materials (textbooks and other books) for the mother tongue to be used as medium of instruction in Standards 2 to 4.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	39	24.2%
Disagree	65	40.4%
Don't know/uncertain	32	19.9%
Agree	15	9.3%
Strongly agree	<u>10</u>	<u>6.2%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

In summary, it may be stated that the results of the survey support Hypothesis 3, that the vernaculars will not be favoured as major mediums of instruction. This is perhaps hardly surprising, given the weight of historical practice in Namibia and elsewhere, but it does give a general guideline for policy-makers who wish to design implementable language policies. What seems to be of more significance, even, is the evidence that existing practice, that of employing the vernaculars as the

sole medium of instruction in the junior primary school, is favoured by only a small proportion of teachers.

8.4 Hypothesis 4: There is evidence that conditions favour the application of a mixed medium approach

The term "mixed medium" was coined in the publication **Towards a language policy for Namibia** (United Nations Institute for Namibia, 1981), where it refers to the option of employing the mother tongue as medium of instruction in some school subjects, and English in others, with the further option of phasing-in the use of the language of wider communication, thus gradually reducing the role of the mother tongue. As stated at the conclusion of Chapter Seven, some version of a "mixed medium" option is presented in all the proposals on language in education in Namibia which were consulted in formulating the hypotheses.

Theoretical support for a "mixed medium" programme was advanced at the conclusion of Chapter Five, and at the beginning of the following chapter. The support is of two kinds: (1) evidence that similar options have been exercised successfully in various, diverse contexts, and (2) discussion of the psychoeducational basis on which the application of a fully bilingual policy - implied in the mixed medium proposition - would rest. In respect of the latter, Cummins' provocative Threshold and Interdependence Hypotheses were discussed, as were the results of the South African experiments of the 1940's, and the Canadian immersion experiments of the 1960's and 1970's, amongst others. As can be seen from the

proposals contained in the "Ideal Model of Bilingual Education for Namibia" (see the conclusion of Chapter Six), it is my contention that the weight of theoretical evidence, when applied to the Namibian situation, does not favour the retention of present patterns, which entail rigid separation of the mediums of instruction, compartmentalization of language skills in the classroom, and the complete exclusion of the mother tongue as medium from the fourth year onwards.

Preliminary evidence that the respondents in the survey might favour a mixed medium approach is provided by the results of items 1 and 2 (see Hypothesis 1), where teachers showed support for the employment of a combination of English and the mother tongue in the junior primary school (30.4%) and in the senior primary school (24.3%). A further 17.3% supported an Afrikaans/mother tongue combination in the junior primary school. Based on these figures, it may be argued that the medium of instruction policy which is most favoured for the junior primary school is, in fact, a mixed combination which employs both the language of wider communication and the mother tongue.

Further evidence is provided by the responses to item 10:

Item 10: Pupils will do better at school if the second language (English or Afrikaans) is brought in gradually as the medium of instruction, over a number of years.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	7	4.4%
Disagree	15	9.3%
Don't know/uncertain	13	8.1%
Agree	59	36.6%
Strongly agree	<u>67</u>	<u>41.6%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

Care was taken in presenting this item during the survey. The term **gradually** (Afrikaans: "geleidelik") was explained as meaning that the second language should not be introduced abruptly in one school year, at one stage for all school subjects as medium of instruction, as has been the historical practice. It will be seen that a large proportion (78.2%) of respondents favoured this proposal.

Item 12 was formulated on the basis of a proposal contained in the recommendations of AGN sub-committee on language policy (Advieskomitee vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing, Volume 4, 1982):

Item 12: Pupils will do better at school if they begin using the second language (English or Afrikaans) as medium of instruction only after they have passed a test to show that they are ready to do so.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	19	11.8%
Disagree	51	31.7%
Don't know/uncertain	24	14.9%
Agree	37	23.0%
Strongly agree	<u>30</u>	<u>18.6%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

Responses to this item are ambiguous. Statistical significance attaches to the answers by qualification group ($p > .02$): 50.5% of the higher-qualified group of teachers disagree or disagree strongly with the proposal, with a further 15.8% indicating uncertainty, while 56.1% of the lower-qualified group agree or agree strongly with the proposal. (A further 9.1% of this group indicate uncertainty.) This may be interpreted as revealing the uncertainties of the lower-qualified group about their ability to implement a changed medium of instruction policy, particularly in the light of the fact that negotiations which were underway at the time of the survey (1986) shortly afterwards resulted in the announcement that Windhoek schools would change to English-medium instruction from the first year, with a probable spread to other schools within the area of jurisdiction, within a short time. The responses to item 12 may be interpreted as an attempt by a significant number of lower-qualified teachers to protect their professional position.

The results of the responses to the three components of item 13 also have bearing on the "mixed medium" hypothesis:

Item 13: In school subjects where the second language (English or Afrikaans) is used as the medium of instruction in Standard 3:

13.1 it is often necessary for the teacher to use the home language (mother tongue) to explain difficult ideas and problems.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	9	5.6%
Disagree	27	16.8%
Don't know/uncertain	13	8.0%
Agree	55	34.2%
Strongly agree	<u>57</u>	<u>35.4%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

13.2 the pupils should be allowed to answer tests and examinations though medium of their mother tongue.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	48	29.8%
Disagree	79	49.0%
Don't know/uncertain	18	11.2%
Agree	8	5.0%
Strongly agree	<u>8</u>	<u>5.0%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

13.3 the pupils should be allowed to answer the teacher's questions (oral) by speaking their mother tongue.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	50	31.1%
Disagree	84	52.1%
Don't know/uncertain	10	6.2%
Agree	15	9.3%
Strongly agree	<u>2</u>	<u>1.2%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

Responses to item 13.1 show that the great majority (69.6% of respondents) agree with the proposition that the teacher often has to use the mother tongue to explain difficult ideas and problems, even in the fifth year, Standard 3. This corroborates the opinions of local educational officials, that the practice is quite often resorted to. The validity of the results may be accepted because the practice is officially discouraged; thus, by

agreeing with the proposition in item 13.1, the teachers are also agreeing that they and their colleagues break the rules. However, more significant is the question of **why** this has to be done, and whether matters would not be more satisfactorily arranged if teachers were, in fact, actively encouraged to employ the practice, in the interests of reducing tensions and of improving communication.

The results of items 13.2 and 13.3 show strong rejection of a situation where the pupils are allowed to maintain a "silent period" during which the teacher does not require responses in the second language although the pupils are exposed to listening and reading in that language. There is reasonable certainty that these two items were interpreted by the respondents as embodying **choices**, because they were uniformly explained in presentation during the survey, to mean that the pupils could exercise the options, if they wanted to. In the event, there appears to be strong resistance amongst teachers to the implementation of a feature of policy which was considered to have contributed towards the success of the Canadian immersion projects, and which has been presented as an important component of the "Ideal Model of Bilingual Education for Namibia".

On the other hand, it is a leading assumption of this work that options cannot be exercised until they are known to exist. I have found immediate acceptance of the "silent period" practice in discussions with teachers after the conclusion of interviews in the survey, in a formal presentation to a group of instructors in the Council of Churches language project, and in a similar presentation to instructors in a private language school

which has been commissioned to provide in-service training in English for local primary school teachers. It is my hypothesis that the results of items 13.2 and 13.3 do not, in fact, represent principled objections to the "silent period" proposal on the part of many teachers, but rather reflect a substantial degree of uncritical acceptance of current practices. In fact, it is noted in the report on interviews with school principals that many appear to accept the "maximum exposure hypothesis", namely, that pupils will improve in the second language in direct relation to the number of hours, years, class periods, etc., during which they are exposed to the language **and** in direct relation to the amount of speaking and writing which they are **required to produce**. These are fallacious assumptions, conditioned by the weight of the past practices.

A further four items (28-31) were presented to teachers in pursuance of Hypothesis 4. They proved to be unsuccessful in eliciting meaningful data, as great majorities of the respondents indicated that all four second language skills - writing, listening, reading, and speaking - were of similar, high importance for pupils in Standard 3. Respondents were requested to provide a ranking of the importance of skills in their responses, but this did not, in fact, occur to any meaningful extent. The wording of these items may be consulted in the questionnaire which is reproduced in Appendix H. For the record, the combined responses to the agree/strongly agree options, by item, are as follows:

Item 28: 90.7%
 Item 29: 93.2%
 Item 30: 91.9%
 Item 31: 88.8%

In summary, there is definite support for one aspect of the mixed medium approach, that of phasing in the second language as medium of instruction. This would suggest that teachers would approve a policy which allocated certain mediums of instruction to certain subjects in certain school years, on a fixed basis. There appears to be substantial rejection of another proposed aspect of the policy, that of using both mediums of instruction - mother tongue and second language - applied to various language skills within one school subject, as implied in the "silent period" concept. However, even the response in favour of the gradual introduction is evidence of flexibility in the approach of the teachers. It runs counter to the rigid policy which has been applied over many years and, indeed, to the recent policy announced by the Minister for National Education, to take effect from 1988.

8.5 Hypothesis 5: There is uncertainty over whether or not children benefit scholastically from a policy which requires that the mother tongue should be used as the initial medium of instruction.

It has been a recurrent theme in this study that language cannot, in isolation from other factors, be regarded as a causal variable in educational success or failure. There is, of course, a minimal proficiency in the language of instruction which must be attained by any pupil, without

which educational success cannot be realised. However, the attainment of this proficiency is itself linked to both schooling and non-schooling variables. For these reasons, and others which have been advanced, the argument has been rejected that the provision of mother tongue medium instruction per se is a necessary requirement of educational success.

It has also been shown that in Namibia, as in South Africa, language policy in education is overtly formulated and understood as a function of ideology and political planning. Changes in policy are also motivated primarily on these grounds: indeed, during the 1980's, language policy in education has been a high-profile issue amongst Namibians who advocate independence and national integration. This orientation, together with the lack of authoritative, context-specific research, makes it likely that there will be diverse opinions on what is essentially a subsidiary issue: whether or not pupils will benefit scholastically from a policy which requires that the mother tongue should be the initial medium of instruction. In addition, the basic tenets of the debate are obscured by the ideologues of Christian Nationalism, those who control educational planning, who insist that "politics" should be divorced from "education", thus attempting to limit discussion to pedagogic issues of their own definition. In consequence, the latter term has largely been shorn of conceptual or objective content by those who have appropriated it for affective purposes.

For Hypothesis 5, the definitive items in the survey are

numbers 7 and 11, the results of which have been reported in the discussion of the results of Hypothesis 3 (see earlier). These items contain contradictory statements; hence, the one serves as a deliberate check on the other. In the case of item 7, it was shown that 53.1% agreed with the statement that pupils will do better at school if the mother tongue is used as medium in Sub-standard A, whereas 40.4% rejected it. In the case of item 11, which states that pupils will do better if the second language is used as the only medium from Sub-standard A, there is, in fact, increased agreement (67.1%) when compared to item 7. Consistency would have required that those agreeing with the proposition of one item should disagree with the other, and vice versa. Instead, there appears to be a component of floating opinion on this issue. It is the lower-qualified group who appear to be more inconsistent, in that whereas 32.3% (N=21) of this group disagree with the statement in item 7, a substantial 70.8% (N=46) agree with the statement in item 11. Consistency of response would have required an equivalence, in these cases. There is far less fluctuation in the case of the higher qualified group: 46.3% (N=44) and 64.2% (N=61), respectively.

<u>Selective responses to Items 7 and 11</u>		
	<u>Disagree/strongly</u>	<u>Agree/strongly</u>
	<u>disagree in item 7</u>	<u>agree in item 11</u>
Lower-qualified	32.3% (N=21) of group	70.8% (N=46) of group
Higher-qualified	46.3% (N=44) of group	64.2% (N=61) of group

The responses to item 11 show strong statistical significance on the basis of qualification, mainly occasioned by the very large proportion of the higher-qualified group who strongly agree with the proposition that pupils will do better if the second language is used as the only medium of instruction from Sub-standard A ($p > .02$). Statistical significance in the case of both items attaches to age ($p > .05$ in both cases) with the higher age group proving to be more conservative than the younger, i.e. a significantly greater proportion of the older group agree with the proposition regarding the mother tongue in item 7, and disagree with the proposition regarding the second language in item 11.

In essence, it may be claimed that the results of responses to items 7 and 11 do, in fact, support Hypothesis 5, that there will be **uncertainty** over whether or not pupils benefit scholastically from a policy of mother tongue instruction.

Three further items (14.1 - 14.3) were presented to the respondents; these items contained statements which are often made about mother tongue instruction within the parameters of the so-called "psychological" and "pedagogical" arguments:

Item 14: The mother tongue should be used as the medium of instruction in the junior primary school (especially sub-standards A and B):

14.1 because children in the junior primary school learn best through medium of the mother tongue.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	10	6.2%
Disagree	46	28.6%
Don't know/uncertain	16	9.9%
Agree	46	28.6%
Strongly agree	<u>43</u>	<u>26.7%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

14.2 because, if this is done, children are more active and creative in class.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	12	7.5%
Disagree	37	23.0%
Don't know/uncertain	22	13.7%
Agree	47	29.1%
Strongly agree	<u>43</u>	<u>26.7%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

14.3 because, if this is done, it will be better for the development of the children's intelligence.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	15	9.3%
Disagree	45	28.0%
Don't know/uncertain	25	15.5%
Agree	45	28.0%
Strongly agree	<u>31</u>	<u>19.2%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

Item 14.1 is similar in result to item 7. Responses by qualification group are also similar: 68.2% of the lower-qualified group agree/strongly agree with the

proposition in item 14.1 regarding the efficacy of the mother tongue, while only 45.3% of the higher-qualified group so so ($p>.02$). Lesser statistical significance attaches to responses by qualification group to the proposition in item 14.2, that the use of the mother tongue will promote greater activity and creativity ($p>.10$), and greater significance to the proposition of item 14.3, that the use of the mother tongue will promote the development of intelligence ($p>.02$). Generally, the responses to the content of the three sections of item 14 show great consistency when analysed by qualification group: between 62% and 68% of the lower-qualified group agree or strongly agree with the three propositions regarding the benefits of mother tongue instruction in the junior primary school, while answers of the higher-qualified group are much more evenly spread across the range of responses.

It is a cardinal tenet of the so-called "linguistic" argument in favour of mother tongue instruction that it has a vital place in the junior school curriculum as the language in which reading should first be learnt:

Item 15: The skill of reading is best developed if pupils first are taught to read in the mother tongue.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	20	12.4%
Disagree	37	23.0%
Don't know/uncertain	12	7.4%
Agree	42	26.1%
Strongly agree	<u>50</u>	<u>31.1%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

Item 17: Learning to read in the mother tongue is a waste of time for pupils, because there are not enough books to read.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	28	17.4%
Disagree	61	37.9%
Don't know/uncertain	28	17.4%
Agree	25	15.5%
Strongly agree	<u>19</u>	<u>11.8%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

Item 19: It is not necessary for pupils first to learn to read in the mother tongue; instead, they can first begin to learn to read in the second language (Afrikaans or English).

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Disagree strongly	23	14.3%
Disagree	49	30.4%
Don't know/uncertain	26	16.2%
Agree	30	18.6%
Strongly agree	<u>33</u>	<u>20.5%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

Responses to items 15 and 19 show that a significant number of teachers agree that the mother tongue has a definite place as the language through which reading skills should initially be learnt. The degree of consistency on this matter is attested by the correlation factor of -0.36, on the two items, which would certainly be more significant if the response options "agree/strongly agree" were incorporated as one category, and so also for "disagree/strongly disagree".

In item 17, an unexpectedly large proportion of respondents appear to feel that the mother tongues have sufficient reading materials. This matter is discussed in the Report on Classroom Observations (Appendix G), but it may be said that the vernaculars of the central areas have a great paucity of reading materials for any of the school phases, by any objective criteria. The response to item 17 thus raises questions of what precisely many teachers mean by reading, how they relate reading skills to the provision of suitable materials, and to provision for ongoing improvement in literacy.

Two questions were asked on the provision of reading materials in the languages of wider communication:

Item 16: The schools should have more reading materials (such as books and magazines) in English.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	3	1.8%
Disagree	13	8.1%
Don't know/uncertain	11	6.8%
Agree	60	37.3%
Strongly agree	<u>74</u>	<u>46.0%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

Item 18: The schools should have more reading materials (such as books and magazines) in Afrikaans.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	9	5.6%
Disagree	30	18.7%
Don't know/uncertain	16	10.0%
Agree	67	41.9%
Strongly agree	<u>38</u>	<u>23.8%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

These results are significant in view of the paucity of reading materials in the schools, which are, indeed, almost completely non-existent in English. These matters are mentioned in the reports of Interviews with School Principals, and of Classroom Observations (Appendices D and G).

Of relevance to Hypothesis 5 are the responses to item 34 of the questionnaire (see Appendix C), where teachers were asked to complete the statement "Many Namibian pupils leave school during the first three or four years because..." It will be noted that school factors, including language, form only a small proportion (22.3%) of the full number of causes listed. Overwhelming importance is attached to the effects of socioeconomic, family and personal factors. This is corroborated by the results of the interviews with school principals, who, while quite amenable to discussing language policy, failed to list language problems as amongst the major issues affecting their schools. Teachers and school principals in the central area of Namibia either do not rank language as a causal factor in educational success or failure or, if they do, they place it far down on the list of problematical factors. The results which have bearing on Hypothesis 5 thus show evidence of considerable difference of opinion regarding the efficacy of a policy which requires the initial use of the mother tongue as medium of instruction. A significant number of the teachers do not appear to have a firm opinion on the matter, as they respond inconsistently to opposing propositions. These findings are to be expected, as anticipated in the proposition of Hypothesis 5, because

the scholastic benefits of the mother tongue medium are not the chief focus of the debate concerning medium of instruction in Namibia. This is a difficult and complex issue even for scholarly specialists, and reputable and relevant research findings are scarce. On this subject, the teachers are probably no more at variance with one another, and with themselves, than are the specialists.

8.6 Hypothesis 6: There is disagreement over whether or not the language component of the curriculum should be employed to promote recognition of, and respect for, cultural diversity and authentic traditions and customs.

Education is a social enterprise which is used by those who control the system both to reinforce desired attitudes and habits, and to propagate values. It has been noted in previous chapters of this work that the mother tongue has occupied a primary place in the Namibian educational system as a means of securing the quiescence of the majority, and of propagating ethnic divisiveness. Mother tongue education has thus been an instrument of ideology, the import of which has been dissimulated by white educational planners who have claimed for it the virtue of being necessary for scholastic success. The same planners have prescribed mother tongue education as a mainstay of the maintenance of cultural pride and continuity, even while they have promoted a system which has driven the majority of the population into increasing poverty and dependence. It is thus not surprising that many black Namibians display such disaffection towards mother tongue education, and that they reject any advocacy of it as being motivated by

a desire to perpetuate white hegemony and national divisiveness. On the other hand, it has also been noted that in Africa, and elsewhere in the developing world, where the course of time has allowed policies to be formulated with broader-based assessments of national needs in mind, very similar arguments in favour of mother tongue education are advanced. The situation is encapsulated by a Namibian, Hishikushitya, who writes that, whereas in other parts of the world the mother tongue is favoured "for progressive and positive reasons", in Namibia it has been used "as a means of inculcating tribal consciousness, the perpetuation of tribal divisions, and the reproduction of social, economic and political inequality..." (Hishikushitya, 1985: 32) (See Chapter Four). Whether in a context of transfer or maintenance bilingualism, the mother tongue is frequently propagated elsewhere in educational planning because of the actual constraints of the linguistic situation, and as a means of advancing cultural pride and national authenticity. These factors are acknowledged by those engaged in educational planning for an independent Namibia.

In the current situation in Namibia, teachers' attitudes towards the mother tongue are ambivalent. On the one hand, it is rejected as an ideological instrument of apartheid; on the other hand, its firmly established place in the home and community is acknowledged. Teachers also reject suggestions, often made by Christian National educationists, that propagation of the wider use of a second language in education implies a lack of pride in ethnic culture or traditions. It would appear from

the results of this survey that teachers wish a compromise to be effected, by which the educational system will allow the economic, educational and unifying advantages of the wide use of the second language to be exploited, while at the same time retaining a place for the mother tongue. The responses to items 1-3 of the questionnaire have shown that there is considerable support for the joint use of the mother tongue and the second language as mediums of instruction, particularly in the junior primary phase; other results with similar implications have been discussed in the analysis of the results of Hypothesis 4.

The major reason for including the mother tongue as a subject in the curriculum has been to **enhance** its status as a bearer of culture and tradition. The results of items 22.1-22.3 show considerable support for the mother tongue as a school **subject**, even in the secondary school, at which level it has, in fact, never been offered in the central areas of Namibia.

Item 22: The mother tongue should be taught as a school subject:

22.1 in the lower primary school (Sub-standard A to Standard 1).

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	3	1.9%
Disagree	20	12.4%
Don't know/uncertain	10	6.2%
Agree	52	32.2%
Strongly agree	<u>76</u>	<u>47.2%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

22.2 in the higher primary school (Standards 2 to 4).

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	12	7.5%
Disagree	49	30.4%
Don't know/uncertain	4	2.5%
Agree	40	24.9%
Strongly agree	<u>56</u>	<u>34.8%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

22.3 in the secondary school (Standards 5 to 10).

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	24	14.9%
Disagree	39	24.2%
Don't know/uncertain	7	4.3%
Agree	39	24.3%
Strongly agree	<u>52</u>	<u>32.3%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

It is noteworthy that the higher-qualified group of respondents, who are more inclined to reject the employment of the mother tongue for medium of instruction purposes, show strong support for the mother tongue as a school subject. Two-thirds of the group agree/strongly agree that the mother tongue should be a school subject in the senior primary and secondary schools, with approximately 45% strongly agreeing with the propositions ($p > .05$, in each case).

Three questions enquired into attitudes towards some of the reasons for which the inclusion of the mother tongue in the school curriculum is often advocated:

Item 23: The mother tongue should be one of the languages taught and used in the schools:

23.1 because people want their own language to be used in the schools.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	7	4.3%
Disagree	19	11.8%
Don't know/uncertain	13	8.1%
Agree	64	39.8%
Strongly agree	<u>58</u>	<u>36.0%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

23.2 because, if this is not done, people will lose respect for their own culture and traditions.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	6	3.7%
Disagree	16	10.0%
Don't know/uncertain	7	4.3%
Agree	51	31.7%
Strongly agree	<u>81</u>	<u>50.3%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

23.3 because, if this is not done, children will not respect and obey their parents.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	26	16.2%
Disagree	42	26.1%
Don't know/uncertain	26	16.1%
Agree	33	20.5%
Strongly agree	<u>34</u>	<u>21.1%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

Item 23 was presented to respondents as being intentionally broad in compass, not specifying exactly how the mother tongue should feature in the schools, "but that it should not be entirely excluded as a medium of instruction and as a school subject". It has already been noted that statistical tests of significance were run on all responses to items 1 to 26, broken down by the four primary sampling characteristics. Only teacher qualification proved to have wide significance. However, the response to item 23.1, when analysed by the two largest linguistic groups, first-language speakers of Nama-Damara and Herero, showed high statistical significance ($p > .02$). This is accounted for by the large proportion of Nama-Damara-speakers who agree/strongly agree with the statement (86.8%), as against 65.0% of Herero-speakers. The response might be accounted for by the isolated position of Nama-Damara, as the only Khoesan language in Namibia which has significant numbers of speakers, as well as the threatened position of the language. A finding such as this gives additional support to the argument, presented in this work, that a model of bilingual education for Namibia should provide space for the incorporation of local options.

In respect of Hypothesis 5, the key item is 23.2, dealing with culture and traditions, which also produces the highest favourable response. Statistical significance by qualification group attaches to the responses to item 23.2 ($p > .05$), because of the large proportion of the higher-qualified group (55.3%) who **strongly** agree with the statement. As already noted, it appears that advocacy of changes in existing language policy, with

greater employment of English, is not regarded by the higher-qualified group of teachers as being incompatible with the maintenance of respect for local culture and traditions. This perception accords well with the establishment of clear domains of use, referred to by some writers as sociofunctional separation, which characterizes the situation with respect to vernacular languages, and languages of wider communication, in multilingual countries. It is for this reason, amongst others, that a fully **bilingual** model of education is advocated for Namibia, in the "Ideal Model"

As the visits to schools revealed (see Appendices D and G), a general lack of reading materials is certainly apparent everywhere. Class reading materials, magazines, and the text of classroom illustrations are almost entirely in Afrikaans or English, as are all official circulars and manuals. There are no school libraries, and the "reading corners" in the lower primary classes have Afrikaans materials. Outside of the school, there is little if any access to public libraries or to bookshops, although poverty and distance would prevent most people from making use of these facilities, even if they were freely available.

The report on Classroom Observations (Appendix G) also notes the very poor teaching which pertains in the schools, which is partly attributed to the scarcity of reading materials in the vernaculars. Factors such as these lead to the conclusion that if the mother tongue is to have a respected place in the schools, it will be as a medium of instruction in subjects which do not require much supportive reading (e.g. arithmetic), and as a school subject which emphasises speaking and writing

activities. The mother tongue can only suffer by comparison if it attempts to compete with the languages of wider communication in the areas in which they are strongest: the attraction and availability of extensive materials for reading. Re-orientation of teaching practices with regard to the mother tongue is required, because policy up until the present has required the employment of scarce money and resources in the attempt to produce a range of written materials, partly to enhance the status of the vernaculars. Given the demographic and linguistic realities, this is a futile and self-defeating attempt, when aimed at more than the provision of materials for use in certain selected primary school subjects.

Two further items enquired into the attitudes of pupils and teachers towards the mother tongue as a school subject:

Item 20: I enjoy teaching the mother tongue as a school subject.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	16	9.9%
Disagree	43	26.7%
Don't know/uncertain	14	8.7%
Agree	39	24.2%
Strongly agree	<u>49</u>	<u>30.5%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

Item 21: Pupils enjoy studying the mother tongue as a school subject.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly disagree	13	8.1%
Disagree	35	21.7%
Don't know/uncertain	15	9.3%
Agree	57	35.4%
Strongly agree	<u>41</u>	<u>25.5%</u>
	<u>161</u>	<u>100%</u>

It will be seen in the results of item 21 that 60.9% of the respondents agree with the statement that pupils enjoy studying the mother tongue as a school subject. This result is in broad agreement with the opinions attested in the interviews which formed part of the pilot survey, where respondents stated that the pupils felt more secure and relaxed in such classes.

In summary, the teachers appear to favour a bilingual situation in which the second language and the vernaculars both fulfil functions in the educational system. There is no substantial disagreement over the fact that people want the mother tongue to have a place in the schools in order to promote respect for culture and traditions, nor in respect of the place of the mother tongue as a school subject in the junior primary school. Less agreement exists over the role of the mother tongues as school subjects in other school phases, although the results suggest that the use of these languages as school subjects even in the secondary school should have substantial support from the more influential, higher-qualified group of teachers.

An analysis of results which have bearing on Hypothesis 6 appears to show far less disagreement over the place of the mother tongue in the schools, for the purposes stated, than was originally hypothesised.

Summary

A summary of the results of this survey is provided in section 9.3 of the next chapter.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 The applicability of this study

This work has been concerned with the implementation of English as a medium of instruction in education in Namibia. As stated, the focus of study has been the central area of Namibia, specifically the primary schools and teachers which resort under the Department of National Education, based in Windhoek. It has been shown that this area has close historical, linguistic, and educational inter-relatedness with other contingent districts of what is generally known as the "central areas", especially with Damaraland and the scattered components of Hereroland. For these reasons, findings of this study may, with reasonable confidence, be held to have relevance beyond the immediate area of inquiry.

It is a more problematical question as to whether and in what degree the findings are relevant to the northern areas of Namibia, viz. Owambo and the Kavango, where the majority of the population resides. These areas do, however, have many aspects in common with the area of enquiry, in respect of factors which have primary relevance to this study: relatively small acquaintance with English, whether in education or in the wider communities; joint experience of vernacular-medium education in the early school years, and of Afrikaans-medium in the later years of the primary school, and in secondary school; evidence of the desire of the majority of parents in all these areas, both central and northern, for English-medium education in the senior primary and secondary school, as attested by country-wide survey (Human Sciences Research Council,

1982); similar features in respect of absence of compulsory education, low per capita funding, large numbers of poorly-qualified teachers, and high concentrations of pupils in the lower classes; similar investments in Afrikaans as the second language through which teachers have been trained, have taught, and have conducted their professional activities (this period has been much shorter in the north than in the central areas), and the common inadequacies of all vernacular languages for educational purposes, in respect of terminology, literature and, perhaps most cogently, the educational status which they are accorded by teachers and by parents. Politically, socially and economically, too, the inhabitants of the central and northern areas have much in common. They have historically been subject to the same colonial power, and have jointly experienced apartheid and ethnic homelands governments. They have all been denied access to the benefits of the white-controlled economy, except as labourers and as functionaries. Rights of ownership, collective bargaining, free movement and free political association have been largely denied to them. The overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the central and northern areas of Namibia are members of the Lutheran, Anglican and Catholic Churches, which have jointly protested colonialism and apartheid, and have advocated national unity, independence and the provision of basic human rights. None have ever had the opportunity to freely advocate or elect national leaders and governments of their choice.

In this chapter, the conclusions and recommendations which are proposed will concern only the central area of Namibia, as defined in previous chapters. No explicit

reference to the northern areas will be made or intended. However, it may be inferred from what has been said that there are likely to be a substantial number of recommendations which will also be relevant to the northern areas or which may, if reviewed with caution, illuminate the situation there as well. In one respect, the experience of Owambo may illuminate the situation in the central areas, in that the change to English-medium instruction (from Afrikaans-medium) was made suddenly, with very little preparation of the teachers concerned. Particularly in view of the opinion of many of the principals who were interviewed during the course of my survey, that the English proficiency of teachers will most surely improve when they have to implement English-medium instruction, it would be very useful to investigate whether this has in fact been the case in Owambo. Such an investigation could prove to be a worthwhile research project.

This study has been concerned with language education policies in schools which are attended by black children. No account has been taken of schools which serve white and coloured children, who form a very small minority of the population. It is likely, and indeed necessary, that after independence the schools of Namibia will be racially integrated, and that broadly uniform educational policies will apply to all sectors and districts. However, the effects of such multilingual integration, as they apply to language policy and practices, will be felt only in the larger urban areas, affecting a very small proportion of school-goers. It is not the concern of this research to propose local policy options which may apply in this small proportion of cases, although the principle of such options is

recommended here and may usefully be applied even in atypical situations.

9.2 Broad policy concerns: Recommendations

The model of bilingual education in Namibia, which was proposed previously, was prefaced with the observation that in Namibia language policy is explicitly viewed as "an instrument used in achieving more general societal goals" (cf. Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981: 237). It has also been shown that the employment of English as a medium of instruction, together with the de-emphasising of the mother tongues and of ethnicity in educational structures, are advocated by those who espouse progressive modernising goals for Namibia. Thus the issue of English in education has, in Namibia during the 1980's, become an "overt social issue" as described by Kjolseth:

The transformation of covert conflicts of interests into overt social issues is a social accomplishment, and, at any point in time, only a few matters of covert conflict will become transformed into specific social issues while the remainder will remain covert (Kjolseth, 1978: 801).

Under political pressure, the implementation of English as a medium of instruction is taking place, but divorced from the policy goals for which it has been initiated by progressive advocates. Implementation is taking place under apartheid and colonial control, as a key means of gaining credibility for the South African-appointed ethnic and central governments, whose survival depends on the maintenance of the very system which the

English-advocating progressive forces seek to remove.

As stated previously, the inevitable results of such a hiatus between policy goals and implementation will be further political conflict, frustration and disillusionment, which will have, too, a decided effect on implementation. As an examination of the policy-implementation model proposed by Sabatier and Mazmanian (1979b) shows, the inevitability of these results is assured by crucial factors such as: lack of support from other government agencies which are affected; absence of commitment and leadership skills shown by higher-level implementing officials; lack of unambiguous policy directives; discord and disparities between implementing agencies; and the inability, for political reasons, to recruit or to utilise sympathetic and committed implementing officials. A colonial system which maintains rigid control of power by policies of racial discrimination and ethnic divisiveness in the face of popular opposition, cannot allow its educational system to be employed to express modernising and progressive philosophies and goals. Bardach's words, first quoted in Chapter One, need to be repeated here:

The most important problems that affect public policy are almost surely not those of implementation but those of basic political, economic and social theory (Bardach, 1977:283).

It is a major postulate of this study that effective implementation has as a necessary precondition the willing compliance and co-operation of those agents who are most concerned with implementation: in the first case, teachers, and in the second case what Sabatier and Mazmanian refer to as the "target group or beneficiaries", namely pupils, parents and their communities. These

authors enunciate two factors as being of cardinal importance in securing compliance. The chief of these is the target group's attitudes concerning the fundamental legitimacy of the policy, and the other is the costs of compliance. It has already been shown above, and elsewhere, that the legitimacy of the policy of implementing English as a medium of instruction under present conditions is fundamentally in question. The major aim of the policy is to attain greater credibility for ethnic authorities and a surrogate central government, whose legitimacy has not as yet been tested, and whose aims are directly opposed to the reasons for which English in education is advocated by the majority of the population. The costs of compliance are high in a country where English has always been scarce, and where supportive resources are minimal: to continue to bear these costs requires a high degree of motivation and commitment by those whose goals have been subverted by the policy process. This is not to say that English will cease to be widely advocated, because the movement has by now become self-sustaining, and its progressive symbolism is firmly established. Rather, it is suggested that major dissonances in respect of the present policy context will severely hinder effective implementation.

As Scotton (1982) correctly states, *lingua francas* (such as English in Namibia) will only be widely acquired if people are convinced that by so doing the conditions of their lives will change substantially for the better **and** if sufficient opportunities are available for this to happen. In Namibia at present, the major opportunities for employment are in government departments and in the security-military forces, in both of which spheres the use

of Afrikaans continues to be intensified. In the words of Sabatier and Mazmanian, under such conditions the actual impacts of policy outputs are bound to be incongruent with those which are envisaged - particularly where conflicting policy goals exist, as in Namibia - leading to the subversion of policy outputs as a result of conflicting statutes (Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979b: 24). This is true whether those "statutes" are explicitly or covertly formulated.

Yet in Namibia, during the 1980's, English has continued to be proposed and implemented as a medium of instruction in education, to the extent that it is already the major medium in school systems which enrol the largest number of Namibian children. The continuing success experienced thus far by the progressive advocates of English-medium education, and the short period of implementation, have not yet allowed the articulation of widespread frustration and disillusionment with the implementation process. These, as stated above, will occur when the incongruencies of official goals, as opposed to those of other advocates of the English-medium policy, begin to be clearly and widely perceived. To some, these results will be welcome: to the South African-orientated officials, they will reflect the correctness of their advocacy of vernacular- and Afrikaans-medium policies, in the sense that it is certain that white Afrikaners who occupy key positions in the cabinet of the Transitional Government and, more crucially, senior officials of the Department which must implement the policy, are opposed to English-medium instruction and will probably welcome failure. In addition, the Minister of National Education will have the greatest difficulty in effecting linguistic changes in the semi-autonomous civil service departments,

which are overwhelmingly manned at middle and senior levels by white Afrikaners. Thus "hierarchical integration within and among implementing agencies", a vital condition for successful implementation of a policy (Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979b), cannot be assured, and will, indeed, probably be opposed. To some who struggle for liberation, an exacerbation of frustration and conflict will be regarded as hastening the demise of colonialism. The present context in which English is being implemented as a medium of instruction is both complex and fraught with conflict.

This study, particularly in respect of the teacher-centred emphasis and the proposed model of bilingual education for Namibia, is predicated on the belief that the implementation of English-medium education must be situated, if possible, within a broader bilingual system. At the same time, it is recognized that language policy is itself neither a necessary nor sufficient condition for educational success, in view of the context which has been outlined above, and in the light of the stark socioeconomic conditions which have been referred to in earlier chapters. Those who implement language policies - or any other educational policies - under such conditions, can at most strive to maintain their professional pride by struggling to achieve the best educational results of which they are capable.

Under conditions as outlined above, effective implementation of any policy (insofar as this is possible) requires two qualities of implementers: strong motivations, and a clear understanding and analysis of the

situation. From the results of the survey, it appears that strong motivations in respect of English-medium policy exist in significant degree, and may be expected to intensify. However, it is not certain that the second factor, which was not a subject of enquiry in this research, exists to an equivalent degree. This statement is not at all intended to imply that the teachers, and the communities of which they are part, are unable to define the conditions of their lives. There is no reason to doubt that they can do this very cogently. What is implied is that they are unlikely to have an incisive understanding of the policy-implementation incongruencies which were outlined above: for ideology, as an essential means of legitimation, must rely on extensive dissimulation. In its reformist phase, as in Namibia and in South Africa at present, the prevailing ideology dissimulates by co-opting both the arguments and means of its opponents, while preserving intact the non-negotiable ends. English-medium education is one of the means which is increasingly being co-opted by reformists. Frustration, disillusionment and further conflict - as described above - will be accepted by those in authority if their alleviation requires any reduction in existing hegemony. It is factors such as these which are not necessarily understood by teachers and their communities.

Under these circumstances, it is recommended that such effective implementation of language policy in education as is possible can best be attained (1) by the appointment of middle-level intervenors who (a) are sympathetic to the reasons for which English-medium education is advocated by the majority, and (b) are able to negotiate, with teachers and school principals, an

incisive understanding of the context in which implementation is taking place, and of the reasons for this. It is unlikely that the central government would appoint such negotiators, because one of their functions would be to clarify the policies, goals and methods which government seeks to conceal. However, some second-rank (ethnic) governments might consider the appointment of such people, who could also be employed by non-governmental organizations which have an interest in language policy in education in Namibia. (2) Ideally, of course, the departmental officials who are most concerned with the policy should be sympathetic and committed to effective implementation. (3) A final general recommendation is that the commitment and motivation of teachers and others to implement English as a medium of instruction should be supported by providing facilities which strengthen their linguistic means to do so, and which engage them in dialogue concerning the options and operational means which are relevant in this context, as discussed in earlier chapters of this work.

9.3 The survey: Conclusions and recommendations

This study is predicated on the assumption that English-medium education, which is already being implemented in large and significant sectors of the educational system of Namibia, will continue to be applied more extensively within the short- to medium-term. For this reason, based on an analysis of available data and of the strength and representativeness of advocacy, the first hypothesis of the research was that teachers would favour English as a medium of instruction. There is unequivocal

support for this hypothesis in respect of the secondary school phase, and significant support in respect of the senior primary phase. For the lower primary school, the largest single component of support is given to a policy which employs both English and the mother tongue as mediums of instruction. The mother tongue is strongly favoured as the language in which reading skills should be learnt, but there is very little support for it as sole medium of instruction even in the lower primary school, its long-standing locus. What is perhaps of greatest significance is the fact that so many of the respondents are change-orientated, espousing neither of the long-standing and dominant practices, those of employing the mother tongue as the only medium of instruction in the junior primary school, and Afrikaans as the medium of the senior primary and secondary phases.

In the analysis of results, it was shown that many primary school teachers, who were the subjects of research, have considerable apprehensions concerning their proficiency in English. This was attested in interviews with teachers and school principals, as well as by the results of items in the questionnaire in which the respondents were invited to rate their proficiencies in various languages. A strong positive relationship between English reading ability and favourable attitudes towards the language in educational use is also inferred, from the results of the English Proficiency Test, where higher-qualified teachers produced significantly better results. This group also shows positive attitudes towards English in various phases and aspects of the school system, at statistically significant levels.

A wide range of proficiency in English is shown in the results of the English Proficiency Test. Amongst some teachers, particularly the less-qualified and older, there is anxiety about the effects on them of the implementation of an English-medium policy. Perhaps for this reason there is a high degree of support for in-service training courses in English, although such support is not limited only to courses in that language. The majority of lower-qualified teachers, who are also less proficient in English and who generally show less support for English-medium instruction, teach in the lower primary school. This situation can produce deleterious consequences if English-medium is instituted in any part of the lower primary school, without sensitivity, consultation and preparation.

Significant support is given to a bilingual policy in the schools, and to the differentiated use and introduction of mediums of instruction. Such policies have not been formally applied in schools in Namibia, although there is substantial evidence from the survey that the teachers informally employ bilingual instruction, i.e. continued spoken use of the mother tongue, as late as the fifth year (Standard 3). They are, however, unwilling to make the same concessions to the pupils. It is hypothesised, on the basis of discussions with teachers, school principals and others, that the large majority of those who implement educational language policy implicitly support "maximum exposure", i.e. the belief that the pupils will learn the second language best if they are forced to exercise all four language skills to the maximum at all times. However, it is also hypothesized on the

basis of discussions, that the "silent period", and aspects of mixed medium practices, would be approved if the purpose and operation of these were discussed with teachers.

As initially hypothesized, there is considerable uncertainty amongst the respondents as to whether or not pupils benefit scholastically from a policy which requires that the mother tongue should be used as the initial medium of instruction. It can be inferred from the responses to the two key items in the survey questionnaire which relate to this hypothesis that much greater uncertainty over the matter exists amongst the lower-qualified group of teachers, whose responses to these two items show a substantial degree of inconsistency. In general, the results in respect of this hypothesis are not surprising given the general lack of agreement amongst scholars and specialists, and the complexity of the context-specific factors which must be considered before an answer can be attempted for any situation. In addition, attitudes towards mother tongue education in Namibia are not primarily motivated by purely scholastic considerations, but by issues of much wider social concern. From the results of the survey, it may be inferred that low priority attaches to language as a causal factor in educational success, particularly in the light of predominant social, economic and personal factors.

Although the mother tongue is rejected as sole medium of instruction for all school phases, even for the junior primary school, it is favoured to a significant extent in this role in combination with one of the languages of wider communication. There is also substantial support for the mother tongue as a school subject. It is notable

that the higher-qualified group of respondents, which is most in favour of English-medium and is most opposed to mother tongue instruction, nevertheless shows strong support for the teaching of the mother tongue as a school subject even in the senior primary and secondary schools. This group also shows significantly favourable support for the proposition that the mother tongue should have some place in the school system, to promote respect for culture and traditions. Thus it may be inferred that, for many teachers, advocacy of a language of wider communication as medium of instruction does not reflect contempt for, or denial of, their own specific backgrounds, but arises rather from an attempt to accommodate to the complexities and realities of a multilingual society. Such advocacy is not accompanied by denial of the firmly-established positions of the vernaculars in the home and in the community. These findings not only have relevance for the design of language policy in education, but also for broader national language planning. It may be recommended that such planning should embody not only strong promotion of a language of wider communication, within defined national spheres, but should also encompass a specified tolerance of the use of local languages (cf. Kloss, 1977; Kashoki, 1982).

In concluding this section, certain specific recommendations will be made while others will be held over to the next and final section. (1) The first recommendation is that policy-makers and planners should accept the inevitability and necessity of replacing Afrikaans with English as the major medium of instruction, certainly within the area encompassed by this enquiry. The likely intensification of the demand can be inferred from the strong advocacy of this policy amongst the

higher-qualified group of teachers, who also represent the greatest proportion of the youngest and most recent recruits to the profession. As announced during the course of this research, within the area of jurisdiction of the Department of National Education a beginning will be made from 1988 in implementing English as the sole medium of instruction from the first school year (Sub-standard A). While English-medium may certainly be countenanced from the first year, it should be matched with a substantial component of mother tongue instruction, to give effect to a properly bilingual system.

(2) It is recommended that the conditions of implementation which are likely to lead to increased frustration, disillusionment and conflict, as outlined in the previous section and elsewhere, should be examined and clearly understood by planners and policy-makers. Alleviation of these conditions - if the will to achieve this exists - will be greatly enhanced if the present obstacles to successful implementation are clearly understood.

(3) The disparities in proficiency in English, and the tensions and apprehensions which are particularly evident amongst lower-qualified teachers, require the devising and exercising of local implementation options, in close consultation with school principals and their staffs. A clear, uniform statement of intention is quite compatible with differentiated implementation.

(4) The favourable attitude towards in-service training to promote increased language proficiency should be exploited. Such courses should, however, not only be utilised for improving speaking competence, which is in any case a complex and lengthy process. Strong emphasis should be placed on improving reading proficiency, which provides more immediate rewards, and is a valuable

resource for continuing, long-term improvement in all language skills. The curriculum of in-service training courses should also include a core component which addresses strategies and methods for implementing the medium of instruction policy.

(5) Pupils should not be forced to exercise productive English skills (speaking and writing) until they are ready to do so. This option should be vigorously propagated amongst teachers, who are at present uninformed of the existence of the possibility, and ignorant of the likely benefits of this "silent period" strategy.

(6) Conflicts should not be exacerbated by the propagation of mother tongue-medium policy as being pedagogically necessary and correct, as has been the case until recently. In respect of the situation in Namibia, no firm and reliable evidence can be adduced in support of this claim. Instead, the benefits of bilingualism, of the additive variety, should be stressed.

(7) Definite and urgent attention should be given to the improvement of the teaching of reading in the primary school, and in particular in the lowest classes. Clear policy must be formulated in respect of the language in which reading skills are first taught, and in respect of the time and manner in which the emphasis shifts to reading skills in the second language. It should be acknowledged that literacy can only be attained in the second language, and methods and resources should be developed to facilitate this.

(8) The teacher-centred, rote-learning-based classroom methodology which has been discussed in Appendix G ("Classroom Observations") not only produces generally deleterious academic conditions, but also militates against effective learning of the second language. Teachers who are in favour of English-medium will, in

all likelihood, be encouraged in the essential task of improving their classroom methods if they perceive the relationship which this has with the improvement of their pupils' competence in the second language.

(9) The mother tongue should continue to be taught as a school subject in the junior and senior primary schools, although its role in this regard in the secondary school is more problematical.

9.4 The model of bilingual education in Namibia: conclusions and recommendations

The six hypotheses of the survey, discussed in Chapter Eight and in the preceding section, were primarily derived from essential elements in the proposals for language policy in education which have been drafted by the major parties to the struggle for political control in Namibia. It will be seen from the analysis of results in the preceding chapter that there is broad support for four of the hypotheses. In respect of the "mixed medium" approach, the results are equivocal, while there is much stronger support for the utilisation of the language component of the curriculum to promote recognition of, and respect for, authentic traditions and customs than was hypothesised. This support is, however, qualified by perceptions of the practical necessity of firmly accommodating a language of wider communication in all phases of the curriculum.

The Model of Bilingual Education for Namibia, presented earlier, essentially derives from research literature, applied in comparative manner to the Namibian situation. It is an "ideal" model in that it seeks to propose practices which are based on the best and most relevant

knowledge and experience over a wide range of contexts. It is obvious from an analysis of survey results in respect of the six hypotheses, and from accompanying conclusions and recommendations, that a rival model could be constructed, which would fit closely with teachers' perceptions. It is also clear that this "hypothesis model", fitting the teachers' perceptions, would agree on a number of points with the "ideal" model which is to be discussed here. This should not be surprising, because the proposals on which the hypotheses are based were themselves academic studies applied to interpretations of the situation in Namibia. It is also obvious that models of bilingual education can only be designed within a certain, limited number of parameters.

It has already been shown that the first and substantive condition which applies to the model of bilingual education in Namibia, that it should reflect the modernising and developmental aspirations of the majority of the population, cannot be met under present conditions. English is essentially a **symbol**, although also a means, in respect of these aspirations. It is certain that the mere implementation of English as a medium of instruction cannot, while other conditions remain unchanged, produce significant improvements in the social and economic conditions of the majority of the population, or enhance the legitimacy of colonial control. The claim that implementation of the policy at present will result in **increased** frustration and conflict is based on assertions by writers on policy and implementation that this is the inevitable result of flawed policies, as discussed in section 1.7 of Chapter One.

Further, from the results of the survey it may be inferred that there is qualified support for truly **bilingual** practices. From experience in the field, it is inferred that lack of support, where it is evident, arises not so much from resistance, but rather from unawareness of the range of choices which may be made. The reasons for saying this were stated in Chapter Eight.

Perhaps the greatest direct resistance is attested in the case of components in the model which propagate diversified employment of the four language skills, and in respect of the proposal that pupils should be permitted to delay productive use of the second language until they feel ready to do so. Implementation of these important aspects of the model cannot be ordered by directives; it will have to be achieved by explanation and negotiation. The convinced participation of teachers in this aspect of implementation will have to be obtained by means other than prescription. In achieving this, the contribution of informed and committed intervenors (see earlier) can be invaluable.

In respect of the recommendations regarding reading and literacy, no direct resistance has been discovered. The obstacles to implementation lie rather in the firmly-established nature of the deleterious reading practices which are employed at present, and the relatively long period of time between the introduction of reading in the first and second language. There is, however, general agreement amongst the teachers that the vernaculars have inadequate literature to be employed as mediums of instruction in the senior primary school, and, by implication from both findings and observations, that they cannot be employed as major vehicles for literacy.

There is also strong agreement that reading skills should first be taught in the first language. In general, this combination of factors should facilitate the propagation and implementation of the reading-literacy proposals in the model. Teaching good reading skills in the classroom remains, however, both a more basic and more intractable problem, to which the most comprehensive attention must be given. An equal degree of urgency should attach to the development of more interactive, enquiry-based and child-centred classroom methods, in place of the present, conventionalised didactic habits. As has already been noted, the achievement of this may, indeed, be more successfully realised if it is directly linked to the attainment by the pupils of greater proficiency in English, this being an issue of great moment to teachers, and the communities which their schools serve.

Regarding the remaining components of the model, it has already been noted that the survey results show strong support amongst teachers for in-service training. Recommendations as to the content of these courses have been made above. It has also been recommended that the implementation of English as a medium of instruction should be done via careful and sensitive negotiation at local level, within the parameters of overall, general goals.

9.5 General conclusions and recommendations

English as a medium of instruction will continue to be implemented in Namibia. Under present conditions, this process will result in growing conflict, which may be alleviated to an extent by applying the recommendations which have been made, via (1) the appointment of

middle-level intervenors who are sympathetic to the introduction of English-medium instruction and to the reasons for which it is advocated and (2) who are able to negotiate with school principals and teachers an incisive understanding of the context in which implementation is taking place; (3) employment of officials who are sympathetic and committed to effective implementation; (4) support for teachers via in-service training courses and other means, which develop not only language proficiency but also understanding of the methods, options and operational means which are relevant to the context.

In respect of the actual model which should be employed, it is the author's conviction that the proposed Model of Bilingual Education for Namibia, as outlined in Chapter Six and discussed above, best accords with theoretical and experiential excellence as interpreted in the local situation. However, it has been noted above that the sophistications of this model may make it difficult to implement effectively in the light of the conflicting perceptions and practices of teachers, as revealed in the results of the survey. Effective implementation would require a high degree of commitment, and a commensurate expenditure of time and resources. It can, however, be achieved, given the relatively small number of teachers who form the target group, the wide-scale support for some basic aspects of the policy, and the nongovernmental resources which could be utilised. Implementation of the proposed model could proceed area by area, on a continuing basis.

However, should it be decided not to implement the "ideal" model, it is clear from the results of the survey that a more rigid, simplified model could be implemented,

which would be more suited to the present attitudes and habits of teachers. Substantive components of this model would include: (i) early implementation of English-medium in some school subjects, along with mother tongue-medium in others; (ii) a switch to full use of English-medium at a specified school year; (iii) encouragements to teachers to allow pupils to delay productive use of English during the junior primary school phase; (iv) the **effective** teaching of reading skills in the mother tongue, with an accompanying early and vigorous promotion of English reading skills. Whatever policy is pursued, it is imperative that urgent and widespread attention should be given to the employment of good reading methods, and to the development of more child-centred, enquiry-based and interactive classroom methods.

A final recommendation, appropriate at this point, concerns the necessity of ongoing evaluation. Earlier in this work, it was noted that evaluation should not only provide for consistent monitoring of implementation, but that it can be regarded as a continual learning process. The latter is particularly pertinent in the case of English-medium instruction in Namibia. It has been seen that implementation, at present, accords hardly at all with the criteria which have been established by theory. The policy has, in addition, a high degree of instability, in the sense that during the 1980's language policy in education in Namibia has, in general, been the object of swift revisions, chiefly occasioned by its susceptibility to political changes, both internal and external. No model, even the best-designed, can be incorporated once and for all into a system, particularly where that system is part of a complex and fluid environment, deeply riven by paradigmatic conflict. It is, for instance, only

through consistent and thorough evaluation that the applicability or not of the language in education models, and recommendations, of this present work can be assessed.

Evaluation, if properly done, would prove to be a process of salutary intervention, a dialogue between theory and context, facilitating understanding amongst policy-makers, planners, implementers and target populations. It would not only enhance awareness of roles and responsibilities in and among implementing agencies, but would open the policy to public access. Perhaps most crucially, it would seek to unravel complex patterns of cause and effect, striving to define ever more objectively the place of language in education within the parameters of broader educational and social policies in Namibia.

Appendices

Appendix A: Responses to Item 32 of the questionnaire

Appendix B: Responses to Item 33 of the questionnaire

Appendix C: Responses to Item 34 of the questionnaire

Appendix D: Results of interviews with school principals

Appendix E: Results of the English Proficiency Test

Appendix F: English Proficiency Test: discussion of results

Appendix G: Classroom observations

Appendix H: Questionnaire used in the final survey

Appendix A

Free response returns on Item 32 of questionnaire:

"It is important for me as a teacher to improve my competence in the following language/s".

A. ENGLISH (134 separate respondents mentioned English, some giving more than one reason. Thus a total of 181 separate responses could be identified.)

1. Educational (75 responses) (41.4% of all responses which mentioned English)

i. General desire to improve English, generally associated with setting a good example in class, or being a better teacher. (38)

ii. For further study. (5)

iii. English is/will be/should be used as medium of instruction. (21)

iv. There are many books in English (prescribed educational texts also specifically cited) (11)

2. General internal communication (46) (25.4% of all responses which mentioned English)

i. English is/will be/should be the official language (20)

ii. To communicate with people/It is widely used in the country. (19)

iii. It is the language of the future (7)

3. **External communication** (55) (30.4% of all responses which mentioned English).

- i. It is the international language. (53)
- ii. Most African states use English. (2)

4. **Qualities of the language** (5) (2.8% of all responses mentioning English)

- i. Not an ambiguous language/easy to express oneself. (2)
- ii. Respondent likes English. (3)

B. AFRIKAANS (52 separate respondents mentioned Afrikaans, some giving more than one reason. Thus a total of 57 separate responses could be identified.)

1. **Educational** (33) (57.9% of all responses which mentioned Afrikaans)

- i. It is the medium of instruction (14)
- ii. Most school books are in Afrikaans. (3)
- iii. General desire to improve Afrikaans, usually associated with being a better teacher. (12)
- iv. Because the respondent was trained through medium of Afrikaans. (2)
- v. Mathematics terms are in Afrikaans. (1)
- vi. Pupils react better to it than to the mother tongue. (1)

2. **Internal communication** (24 responses)

- i. Afrikaans is an official language, or it is widely used in the country. (17)

- ii. To communicate with others. (4)
- iii. It is the home language of some people. (2)
- iv. Written communication from the education department is in Afrikaans. (1)

C. VERNACULARS (23 responses)

Most respondents gave as reasons the fact that they had to teach the mother tongue as a subject, and/or use it as a medium of instruction. Some mentioned the fact that they were not properly conversant with the type of language used in the school, or which is required to be used.

- i. Mother tongue (unspecified) (9)
- ii. Nama-Damara (7)
- iii. Herero (4)
- iv. Tswana (2)
- v. Ndonga (2)

D. GERMAN (3 responses)

It will be noted that almost three times as many separate free responses were recorded for English as for Afrikaans. The validity of these free responses can be accepted because, as explained in the previous chapter, the interviewer was careful to avoid any suggestion that the research concerned the implementation of any particular language in education, and because the great majority of the respondents chose the Afrikaans form of the questionnaire. Thus the medium of the questionnaire did not tend to guide their thoughts towards English; in fact, rather the opposite. In addition, the interviews

were conducted entirely in Afrikaans, except in the few cases where the English form of the questionnaire was chosen.

In respect of reasons why the respondents desire to improve their competence in English, it will be noted that the majority of the responses concern general socio-political factors, as listed under "Internal Communication" and "External Communication". The largest single response concerning English refers to the international status of the language, which must be read in conjunction with an understanding of the international nature of the Namibian dispute, the liberation war waged from beyond the borders of the country by self-exiled citizens, and the urge to loosen ties of dependency on South Africa. However, this having been said, it remains true that the meaning of "international" in this context is complex, and worthy of research in its own right.

The remainder of the responses concerning English are relatively predictable in nature; they reflect the respondents' beliefs that English will have a larger role to play in the educational system in future. These responses thus agree with the results of the first three items on the questionnaire, where respondents were asked to indicate their language medium preferences (see Chapter Eight). The content of the responses also agrees with the assessments of many school principals (see later), that many teachers are apprehensive of their own ability to implement English-medium instruction.

Appendix B

Questionnaire Item 33: "The major problems in connection with the teaching of, or use of, language/s in my school are..."

Answers have been grouped by categories, with numbers of responses shown in brackets.

1. **Environmental:** the second language is not sufficiently heard, used or practised out of school (45 responses) (28.85% of total)

2. **Shortage of books and/or teaching aids** (30) (19.23%)

3. **The children are not sufficiently competent in the language in which they are taught** (most respondents attributed this to the switch-over from the mother tongue to the second language medium or to resistance to mother tongue medium) (41) (26.28%)

4. **Too many languages are used/too many language groups have to be taught through medium of their own mother tongue.** (11) (7.05%)

5. **Poor teacher training, as this affects language proficiency** (most mentioned second language proficiency, but a minority named the mother tongue). (29) (18.59%)

N.B.: Not all responses are accounted for, as there were other answers which were provided by only one or two respondents.

Appendix C

Questionnaire Item 34: "Many Namibian pupils leave school during the first three or four years because..."

Answers have been grouped by categories, with numbers of responses shown in brackets.

A. Parents and home (117 responses) (53.18% of total)

1. Inadequate care at home/single parents/lack of discipline (23)
2. Poverty (including unemployment) (45)
3. "Household problems" (unspecified) (14)
4. Lack of parental support for education/poor education and illiteracy of parents (30)
5. Children must begin work at a young age. (5)

B. Characteristics and attitudes of pupils (28) (12.73%)

1. Lack of motivation to continue at school/do not understand the importance of school (15)
2. Bad influence of peers/pupils fall into bad habits (e.g. truancy, drink, pregnancy) (10)
3. Pupils are scared of school (3)

C. School factors (49) (22,27%)

1. Language (switch-over to other medium in Std 2/generally poor command of second language medium/pupils want English-medium) (27)

2. Poor school facilities (not enough schools/low standard of facilities/afternoon shift) (6)

3. Poor motivation and training of teachers (6)

4. Pupils are discouraged by lack of success (9)

D. Other educational factors (26) (11.82%)

1. Education is not compulsory (16)

2. Lack of accommodation in town (hostels) (5)

3. Lack of pre-primary education (9)

Some pertinent comments:

"Hardship is all that the children experience."

"The reason for the drop-out rate? Poverty and neglect."

"The pupils cannot make school knowledge a knowledge of reality."

"The teachers think: What will the pupils do when they leave school?"

"The pupils fail too often and become discouraged."

"The children are too hasty for the free life."

"Some parents say that it is sufficient if the pupils can read."

"The strange languages threaten the children."

Appendix D

Interviews with school principals

Wherever possible, at schools visited to interview teachers who had been selected in the sample, a separate questionnaire was administered to the school principals. This questionnaire was directed at attempting to gain an understanding of broader trends within the school, and of the environments in which the schools operate. Only the interviewer had a copy of the questionnaire, which was used loosely as a prompt, to allow for freer conversation and for the emergence of unexpected issues.

Twenty-three school principals were interviewed in this manner, of which only two seemed to be hostile or suspicious. In general, the co-operation was excellent. More principals could not be interviewed because of various constraints, such as insufficient time (e.g. where two or three schools were visited in one day, often hundreds of kilometres apart), because the principal was absent or too busy, or because some of the teachers who were interviewed wished to continue discussions after the completion of the formal administration of the questionnaire and English language test. The interview schedule can be found in Table H, which is an appendix to Chapter Seven.

Some issues only emerged later, e.g. higher failure rates in Standard 2, or were dropped when it was discovered that uniform application of policy was being dealt with, e.g. titles of prescribed language books, or the school levels at which certain examinations were held. Other questions, such as direct enquiries into what mediums of

instruction were preferred, or the implications of the teachers' language proficiency, were only asked more directly as the interviewer gained confidence and learnt to interpret the situation. For all the reasons mentioned above, the results of this part of the survey cannot be considered to be statistically reliable. Instead, the results must be used with caution, as an additional source of illumination.

1. Numbers of pupils in Sub-standard A and Standard 2 varied from (per school:)

Sub-Standard A: 42 to 332

Standard 2 : 49 to 231

2. Failure rate in Standard 2

Nine principals stated that there was a higher failure rate in Std. 2 than in any other class. Seven of these attributed the higher failure rate to the switch-over in medium at that stage, although some also noted that the academic content in Std.2 was also disproportionately demanding.

3. Language medium

In all cases, the language medium in Sub.A to Std 1 is the mother tongue, with a switch to Afrikaans in Std 2. Some schools have two mother tongue groups, in which cases there are separate classes. Minority language groups (e.g. Tswana, Owambo) are accommodated in Herero-medium classes. These are all of the Bantu language family. Such children are said to adapt quickly to the majority language.

4. Home languages of teachers

There appears to be a general policy of appointing teachers in accordance with the mother tongue mediums of the lower classes, although higher primary teachers are not necessarily so appointed. Principals do not report any friction amongst their staffs as a result of differences between language or ethnic groups.

5. Language in the community

In general, two types of linguistic communities were encountered:

(1) **Urban schools**, in which the feeder communities were generally linguistically mixed, e.g. Damara and Herero, or Herero and Owambo. In the bigger towns, e.g. Mariental, Otjiwarongo, Swakopmund, the principals stated that Afrikaans served as a lingua franca in inter-group communication, and that young children have a reasonably proficient receptive knowledge of that language, if not a good speaking ability. In smaller towns, probably as a result of the lack of employment, principals stated that pupils had little experience of Afrikaans. In these communities, either one language group was very prominent, or Herero tended to be the lingua franca (where substantial Damara and Herero groups were to be found).

(2) **Rural boarding schools:** These are controlled by the Catholic church, which manages the schools and provides and maintains the facilities. Teachers'

salaries and academic services are provided by the Department of National Education. The schools are obviously much sought-after because they provide accommodation for rural pupils, who often come from distances of over one hundred kilometres. Being closed communities with diverse linguistic inputs, one language (Afrikaans at present) is widely used, even in the playground, and it is reported that the new arrivals soon learn the lingua franca. In these schools and their dependent communities, i.e. hostel and church, use of the mother tongues is relatively limited because of the absence of the supportive environment which family groups and community activities usually provide in towns.

6. Language policy in the schools

In all schools, the switch to Afrikaans as medium of instruction in Std. 2 (fourth year) is instantaneous and abrupt i.e. the pupils are required to employ all four language skills at that stage. Principals are generally in favour of this practice, although opinions differ as to the stage at which the switch should take place, and as to which language should be used. It is noteworthy that a large majority of respondents stated that although Afrikaans reading skills are quite weak at the beginning of Std. 2, these improve rapidly, and overtake mother tongue reading proficiency during the Std. 3 year, if not sooner. As could be predicted, it was felt that productive skills in Afrikaans were quite poor at the beginning of Std. 2. However, these were said to improve quite rapidly during the year.

Half of the principals who were interviewed said that they favoured the use of the second language (whether

English or Afrikaans) as medium from the first school year, with some favouring the initial dual use of both the second language and the mother tongue. The same number felt that the majority of their teachers favoured the use of English as a medium as instruction, and nine principals claimed that they had some evidence that the parents desired English as a medium. They cited requests by school committees, or by general meetings of parents. The majority of principals claimed that they could not be certain of what language policy the parents desired, and two principals felt that most parents wanted Afrikaans as medium of instruction. A further two principals stated that the parents were probably equally divided on the question of whether Afrikaans or English should be used as a medium.

Where principals stated that staff and/or parents had expressed themselves in favour of English-medium, they were asked for reasons. Not surprisingly, in the light of the written responses by the teachers (cf. item 34 of the questionnaire) (Appendix C), the reasons most commonly given were:

(i) The widespread use of English, internationally, in Africa, and in Namibia itself (e.g. in commerce and in education);

(ii) Expectations that English would be far more widely used in Namibia in the near future.

Other reasons given were: the use of English for further study; the wide literature available in English; the

influence of areas in which English was already being used as medium (e.g. in Owambo, and in the private school at Gibeon); and the unfavourable political connotations of Afrikaans.

7. Teachers and the use of English

It is a common theme in this research that a majority of teachers advocate the use of English-medium, and that many others, who perhaps do not themselves actively advocate it, now regard English-medium as inevitable. The school principals who were interviewed all freely agreed that the general command of English amongst teachers is at present inadequate to implement English-medium, and were sensitive to the apprehensions which this situation has aroused in many members of their staffs. It is, however, very noticeable that most of the principals who advocated English-medium were impatient at any suggestions that implementation should be phased in cautiously, or should await the improvement of proficiency in English of the teachers. Their attitude was, simply, that the teachers would not improve their English until it was implemented as a medium, and that the teachers would adapt within a relatively short time. One of the most lasting impressions of the interviews was the impatience of these principals, and their belief that English-medium should be instituted, whatever the short-term consequences. This replicates the attitudes of senior education officials in Owambo, at the time of the change-over to English-medium.

At the same time, principals did specifically acknowledge

the real apprehensions of some members of their staffs, particularly older and less-qualified teachers whose acquaintance with English has been minimal. In many cases, it is precisely these teachers who would have to bear the burden of the introduction of English-medium if it were implemented in the junior primary phase, because many of them teach in those classes. At some schools, such teachers spoke to me informally, admitting that they recognized the inevitability of English-medium, but stating that they felt inadequate for the task and even feared for their continued employment.

It is also significant that many principals were not only phlegmatic in respect of the introduction of English-medium, as described above, but also stated that they did not expect to be consulted in respect of implementation. It was their expectation that the Department would make the decision, and that the teachers would then implement the policy.

Recently the Department has required lower-qualified teachers to improve their qualifications, and principals report that large numbers of their staff are engaged in further study, or will shortly be doing so.

8. The Community

Another lasting impression engendered by the interviews was that of the small islands of literacy and educational qualifications which the schools represent, amidst large feeder communities of illiteracy, or very low education. It is thus not surprising to find that school principals

rely very little on school committees, and that in some cases these appear to function hardly at all. Those principals who were questioned on the matter, gave it as their opinion that teachers were very influential in the local communities, being well respected, and often being consulted on a range of issues beyond the strictly educational.

Principals reported a large upsurge of interest in education during the 1980's, with frequent demands being made for compulsory education, greater enrolment capacities, and enhanced opportunities for children to progress to higher levels of education. (Many communities only have primary schools.) Understandably, in view of the circumstances, there was not reported to be any concern with the **quality** of education i.e. parents had not made approaches in respect of improved teacher qualifications, teaching methods, library facilities, etc.

Finally, the school principals were asked directly what the particular pressures were which were currently being felt by their schools. Their replies included these factors (not in ranked order):

(i) Illiteracy and poor education of parents, who are not able to encourage their children to proceed to higher levels at school;

(ii) Poverty;

(iii) Lack of classrooms, resulting in large class sizes,

double sessions, and insufficient space for afternoon study (which is undertaken because home circumstances are not conducive to study);

(iv) Lack of hostel accommodation, which is a critical factor in rural areas with widespread populations;

(v) Lack of parental care, e.g. one-parent families, or families where both parents have to work, and no adult care is available;

(vi) Delinquency, e.g. teenage pregnancy, truancy;

(vii) Pressure on the school to accept children younger than the prescribed age;

(viii) Lack of dedication by teachers, who do not have a sense of common purpose;

(ix) Language medium policy: schools want to be open to all, and not restricted to intakes of one or other linguistic group;

(x) Financial problems, especially at church schools where parents have to pay school fees to cover certain overhead costs;

(xi) Attendance at school is not compulsory;

(xii) Poor relationship, and lack of consultation, between parents and school;

(xiii) Lack of transport, to participate in sports activities.

9. Textbooks, examinations, etc.

All textbooks are purchased from lists which are provided by the Department. Few schools had major shortages of textbooks, which are retained by the pupils for one year, before being handed in for re-issue the following year. None of the schools have libraries, and although a few have rudimentary stocks of literature, e.g. in cupboards or in storerooms, these are not much used. The pupils have hardly any access to reading materials, except the prescribed texts, as there are few public libraries and most children are too poor to purchase reading materials. Many schools have "reading corners" in the lower primary classrooms, containing stocks of children's books, mainly in Afrikaans. These are read during class time by pupils who have completed the work which has been set for the period. Teachers do not appear to make any other use of these reading materials.

Language plays an important role in the examinations, because, from senior primary upwards, pupils must achieve pass marks in two language subjects in order to be allowed to proceed to the next school year. These examinations are set and evaluated by the school, but in Standard 5 the pupils take a final examination which is administered directly by the department. It is obvious that the language content of the curriculum remains important throughout, because pupils may fail other subjects, but must pass approved combinations of language subjects, in order to be promoted to the next school year, conditional upon an aggregate mark being attained.

APPENDIX E

Results of the English Proficiency Test (refer to Appendix F for discussion of the results)

TABLE E1: Results of all respondents

Level of reading	G	F	E	D	C	B	A	X	UNS	Total
Numbers	3	5	16	33	34	31	15	10	10	157
Percentages	1,911	3,185	10,191	21,019	21,656	19,745	9,554	6,369	6,369	100

TABLE E2: Results by qualifications of teachers

Level of reading	G	F	E	D	C	B	A	X	UNS	Total
Lower qualified	2	4	12	17	16	10	3	2	1	67
Percentages	1,274	2,548	7,643	10,828	10,191	6,369	1,911	1,274	0,637	43,312
Higher qualified	1	1	4	16	18	21	12	8	9	90
Percentages	0,637	0,637	2,548	10,191	11,465	13,376	7,643	5,096	5,732	56,688

(p > .02)

TABLE E3: Results by sex

Level of reading	G	F	E	D	C	B	A	X	UNS	Total
Males	0	2	6	12	19	12	7	7	6	71
Percentages	0	1,274	3,822	7,643	12,102	7,643	4,459	4,459	3,822	45,224
Females	3	3	10	22	13	19	9	3	4	86
Percentages	1,911	1,911	6,369	14,013	8,28	12,102	5,732	1,911	2,548	54,766

Appendix F

English Proficiency Test: discussion of results

During the course of the survey, all respondents were asked to complete the "English Proficiency Test" which was provided by the Institute for Applied Language Studies, University of Edinburgh. Of the one hundred and sixty-one teachers who were interviewed, only four did not complete the test, in each case stating that they did not have the time to do so. The results of the test are provided in table form in Appendix E.

The English Proficiency Test which was used in this research has been developed by the Edinburgh Project on Extensive Reading (EPER), and serves as an instrument to place students on an initial level at which they can enter the reading scheme which is provided by EPER. The scheme itself is based on five hundred commercially produced English books which have been graded into seven levels of difficulty (levels G to A in the Test results: see Appendix E). These English readers are accompanied by supplementary materials, which include special introductions, and questions and answers for all titles to encourage individual reading, as well as guides to some titles to enable teachers to use them as class readers. EPER has been associated with a programme run in two hundred schools in Malaysia, and will be used for a nation-wide programme in secondary schools in Tanzania.

The English Proficiency Test, and the scheme with which it is connected, are of particular interest to this research because of the emphasis on literacy and reading skills which is expounded in the "Model of Bilingual Education for Namibia". Indeed, as shown earlier, one of the major reasons for utilising a language of wider communication in the school curriculum is the availability of extensive and appropriate literature in that language; in addition, as also shown, literacy and meaningful development of reading skills in Namibia can only be pursued via non-vernacular languages. In communities where English is not widely used, as is the case in many parts of Namibia (and as will probably be the case for the foreseeable future), reading materials will provide one of the most comprehensive and regular means of contact with, and development in, the language.

The factors outlined above accord well with the rationale for the reading scheme which has been developed by EPER:

Such a systematic programme of reading is perhaps of special benefit in countries where English is rarely used outside the classroom or where there is a shortage of qualified teachers of English (Written communication: D.Hill, Institute of Applied Language Studies, University of Edinburgh).

In the light of what has been said above, as well as in consideration of theoretical and context-specific factors which have been discussed in previous chapters, it is necessary that the effective implementation of English as a

medium of instruction in Namibian schools will include not only measures to improve the oral English proficiency of teachers, but also their reading ability.

The primary school teachers who formed the sample on which this present research is based have almost all been educated through medium of Afrikaans, and have taught through medium of either that language, or of the mother tongue. Their academic acquaintance with English has generally consisted of (i) the study of English as a subject at "second language" level during their own school careers; (ii) a subject course in English, taken by those who have a professional teacher's certificate, and (iii) the teaching of English as a school subject by those who teach in the senior primary phase. As was said earlier, teachers in the latter category are expected primarily to concentrate on instilling English oral skills, because educational policy requires that reading skills should first be taught in the mother tongue, and then in the major medium of instruction, which until now has been Afrikaans in the central areas of Namibia. It is also known that supplementary literature in any language is very difficult to obtain, because of the near-complete absence of libraries and other supply facilities. Under these circumstances, it would be unrealistic to expect high levels of English reading proficiency.

The results of the English Proficiency Test, which are displayed in Appendix D, show that only 21.01% of the sample are placed at levels "A", "X", and

"Unsimplified". It is the opinion of the test designer that students at level "A" are "advanced, capable of tackling unsimplified material slowly" (written communication: D.Hill). A further 62.43% of the sample are placed at levels "D", "C" and "B", indicating "intermediate" to "upper intermediate" ability in English reading, which is assessed according to the criterion of being able to read a book graded at the respective level, with ninety percent understanding at the rate of a page per minute. According to written communication, Malaysian students with scores in the lower range of level "C" might be expected to pass the Upper Secondary Certificate.

As noted earlier in the analysis of the results of this research, the level of qualification of teachers is often statistically significant as an indicator of language attitude. It is also significant as a factor in English reading proficiency, as can be seen in Appendix E. Approximately 53% of teachers in the lower qualification level fall in level "D" or lower, i.e. most of them below the "intermediate" level, whereas only 28% of the higher qualified group do so ($p > .01$). The relationship between teacher qualifications and English reading proficiency is thus statistically highly significant. It will be remembered that the criterion of qualification which is applied to the sample is relatively lenient, in that teachers with a Standard 8 or 9 certificate and professional training were included in the higher qualified group. In further investigating the test results, this latter group was then divided into two, one group consisting of the most highly qualified of all in the sample, namely those with tertiary training ($N=39$,

compared with N=54 in the remainder of the higher qualified group). The chi-square of statistical significance was then applied to the English Proficiency Test results of these two sub-groups of the higher-qualified respondents; no statistical significance obtained at any meaningful level. It may thus be concluded that, although qualifications appear to have a highly significant effect on English reading proficiency, under present circumstances the difference seems to be a product of schooling and/or professional training at, or equivalent to, the upper secondary school level, and not specifically of education at the post-school leaving level.

Finally, it must be noted that there is only a low level of correlation between the respondents' self-assessment of their English proficiency (as in item 25 of the questionnaire) and their performance on the English Proficiency Test ($r=0.23$). It has already been noted that, although male respondents claim to be better at English at a statistically significant level, no significant difference in English proficiency actually attaches to sex (see Table E 3, Appendix E).

Appendix G

Classroom Observations

While visiting schools in the course of conducting the survey, some observations were made in classrooms. These were not frequent, because of the time schedule, and also because many teachers were obviously uneasy at the prospect of allowing a stranger to observe their lessons. Because trust and confidentiality were essential for the successful conduct of the survey, I did not press the request to be allowed to make classroom observations where reluctance existed.

Nineteen classes were observed, being:

- (i) seven English second language classes, Standards 2-4;
- (ii) seven mother tongue reading classes, Standards 2-4;
- (iii) one "writing" class, Standard 2;
- (iv) two social studies classes, Standards 2 and 3;
- (v) one Biblical instruction class, Standard 3;
- (vi) one mathematics class, Standard 2.

Visits were limited to higher primary classes (Standards 2-4) because it is at this level that the second language is used as the medium of instruction, following the switch from mother tongue medium, which is employed in Sub-standard A to Standard 1 (the first three years). English second language classes were visited because of the obvious connection with this research, and mother tongue reading classes were observed because of the basic importance of reading for academic success. Reading skills are first learnt in the mother tongue, beginning

in the first year (Sub-standard A), and observations in reading classes in Standard 2 and further would provide some insight into the development of reading skills over three or more years.

The observations in the "non-language" classes, i.e. not English and mother tongue reading, revealed an unexpectedly good proficiency in spoken Afrikaans, the second language, amongst the pupils. While the ubiquitous practices of memorization and group repetition were encountered everywhere, there was more than sufficient evidence in every class of oral proficiency in the second language. Questions in Standard 2 which revised the contents of previous lessons, such as (in Afrikaans) "With what is a sheep's body covered?" and "What portion of figure 2 is coloured in?", produced numerous correct oral responses. Classes were observed in Standard 2 between July and October, that is only six to ten months after the official switch to the use of the second language as medium of instruction. There was every indication, in the few classes visited, that pupils understood basic instructions in connection with making notes, finding information in books, etc., as well as the factual knowledge which was conveyed by the teacher. The quality of the teachers' spoken Afrikaans was generally good, as was only to be expected, in view of the fact that they themselves were educated in that language, and employ it for almost all professional purposes.

The material provisions of all schools and classrooms visited are adequate, in respect of factors such as space, building and fitting standards, furniture, etc.

The influence of the subject advisory service is evident in the number of pictures, charts and diagrams which are found in the classrooms, as well as in the comprehensive records of work kept by the teachers. All pupils have textbooks, which are the property of the Department, as well as notebooks.

Unfortunately the methods employed are primitive, consisting almost exclusively of "teacher-tell", with rote-learning and repetition on the part of the pupils. These methods were the general practice in the classrooms which were visited, and the widespread nature of these methods is acknowledged by officials of the Department of National Education. References to these matters have been made in earlier chapters of this work. The employment of such unproductive methods is especially to be deplored in view of the general vigour and commitment with which teachers and pupils pursue the lessons.

The English second language lessons were equally disturbing. The subject advisory service has provided all teachers with comprehensive packages, which include schemes of work, illustrations and teaching aids, tapes and tape recorders. Because English was not the medium of instruction at the time of my visit, the contents of the lessons were not deliberately related to school subjects, i.e. a "language across the curriculum" approach was not employed. Teachers have been well drilled to employ the multifarious aids with which they are provided, to the extent that they are facilitators of the materials rather than mediators in the learning process. Their role is chiefly one of presenting the

content of the lesson according to instructions and required procedures, with the result that very little contextual application takes place.

However, it must be noted in mitigation that the teachers' own proficiency in English is generally quite poor, and that the strongly behaviouristic approach which is prescribed by the Department is an attempt to provide the teachers with a comprehensive and secure base. Subject advisers for English have stated that the present approach should be regarded as transitional, pending an improvement in confidence and ability on the part of the teachers. Perhaps the most significant contribution to this process will be the introduction of English as medium of instruction in the primary schools of Katutura (Windhoek), beginning in 1988, which has, inter alia, required the Department to introduce courses which are intended to produce rapid improvement in the English proficiency of the teachers concerned. This decision has also required the Department to make representations to the University of Namibia, in Windhoek, with regard to the language medium which is used in teacher training courses. In contrast, a reasonably good level of Afrikaans was observed amongst both teachers and pupils.

The mother tongue reading classes were very disturbing, particularly in light of the fact that pupils in Standard 2 or further have already had at least two-and-a-half years of instruction in reading in those languages. It is noteworthy that only one small book is available for mother tongue reading practice over a full year of instruction. A moderately proficient reader from a more privileged environment could read the contents of the book in one or two hours. The result is that the

teachers are forced to devise measures to extend the use of the book over the whole of the school year. Thus very little reading actually takes place during a class period.

A general method which was observed was:

- (1) The teacher reads a sentence or two aloud.
- (2) The class chorus-repeats what the teacher has said. (The pupils do not necessarily follow in their books while doing so.)
- (3) The teacher discusses one or more linguistic aspects of the sentences he/she has read, or elaborates on the content.
- (4) The processes in (1) and (2) above are repeated until the set reading passage has been covered.
- (5) Questions about the passage are asked and answered orally.

It will be obvious that during the course of such a lesson it is not necessary for the pupils to look at their books at all.

One of the classes which was observed was utilised for a mother tongue reading test. During the half hour available, nine pupils were tested individually, standing at the teacher's desk. Of these Standard 2 pupils, four read aloud with reasonable fluency, of which three employed finger-reading, i.e. pointing to each word separately as reading proceeded. Three pupils could hardly read at all, if reading aloud can serve as a criterion. For them, the process was one of extreme

embarrassment, as they had to be prompted by the teacher on nearly every word, and frequently on individual sounds. The remaining two pupils managed to read the set pieces aloud with reasonable proficiency, but on a word-by-word basis and with a certain amount of reversion and re-phrasing. Of the nine pupils who were tested, only one did not employ finger-reading. None were corrected by the teacher in respect of this. The rest of the class, thirty or more in number, remained unoccupied while individual pupils were being tested.

The observations above are consonant with the opinions of school principals, recorded earlier, that by the end of Standard 2, or by Standard 3, the pupils' reading proficiency in their second language surpasses that in their mother tongue, even although reading skills are first learnt in the latter. The poor reading skills in the mother tongue also accord with the fact that virtually no reading materials are available in the mother tongue, inside or outside the school, besides the one small book which is set to be read each year.

In conclusion, it must be emphasised that the observations which are noted above are made on the basis of a small number of classroom visits, although they are corroborated to an extent by comments made by teachers, school principals and educational officials, as well as by written opinion. Thus the evidence gained from the classroom observations can only be regarded as tentative, for the purposes of this research.

APPENDIX H: QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN THE FINAL SURVEYRESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE: LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION(ALSO AVAILABLE IN AFRIKAANS)Please return to:

Mr B. Harlech-Jones
P.O. Box 6406
Ausspannplatz
WINDHOEK

Phone: 307-2052 (W)
51787 (H)

QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER

--	--	--

1, 2, 3

SERIES (RECORD)

0	0	2
---	---	---

5

A. YOUR PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL DETAILS

Please complete the following by putting a ring around the appropriate number. For example, if you are 35 years of age, you answer as follows:

(2) 30 years and over

MY AGE IS:

1. Below 30 years 2. 30 years and over

7

MY SEX IS:

1. Male 2. Female

9

MY HIGHEST ACADEMIC AND/OR PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATION IS:

1. Std 7 or lower, with no teacher training
1. Std 7 or lower, with teacher training
1. Std 8 or 9, with no teacher training
2. Std 8 or 9, with teacher training
2. Std 10, with no teacher training
2. Std 10, with 1 to 3 years of teacher training
2. Std 10, with 4 or more years of teacher training
2. A Bachelors degree, or post-graduate qualification

11

THE MAIN LANGUAGE THAT I SPEAK AT HOME IS (PLEASE RING ONLY ONE LANGUAGE):

1. Afrikaans 2. English 3. German
4. Herero 5. Kwangali 6. Nama/Damara
7. Tswana 8. An Owambo language
9. Another language (please name the language)

13

I HAVE HAD THE FOLLOWING NUMBER OF YEARS OF TEACHING EXPERIENCE:

- | | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|----|
| 1. one year | 2. two years | 3. three years | |
| 4. four years | 5. five years | 6. six to ten years | |
| 7. eleven to fifteen years | 8. more than fifteen years | | 15 |

MY MAIN TEACHING WORK THIS YEAR IS IN:

- | | |
|---|----|
| 1. the lower primary school (Sub A to Std 1) | |
| 2. the higher primary school (Std 2 to Std 4) | 17 |

IN MY SCHOOL, THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN SUB-STANDARDS A AND B IS:

- | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|----------------|----|
| 1. Afrikaans | 2. English | 3. German | |
| 4. Herero | 5. Kwangali | 6. Nama/Damara | |
| 7. Tswana | 8. An Owambo language | | |
| 9. Another language (please name the language) | | | 19 |

IN MY SCHOOL, THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN STANDARD THREE IS:

- | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|----------------|----|
| 1. Afrikaans | 2. English | 3. German | |
| 4. Herero | 5. Kwangali | 6. Nama/Damara | |
| 7. Tswana | 8. An Owambo language | | |
| 9. Another language (please name the language) | | | 21 |
-

B. THE QUESTIONNAIRE**Instructions**

Please answer every question.

To answer, make a circle around the number or letter that you choose, e.g.

5 - 4 - 3 - (2) - 1

(a) (b) (c) (ETC.)

If you wish to change an answer, cross it out clearly as follows:

5 - 4 - 3 - ~~(2)~~ - 1

and make a new circle, e.g.

(5) - 4 - 3 - ~~(2)~~ - 1

Medium of Instruction

The questions in the first section concern the language which is used as the medium of instruction in the schools; in other words, the language which is used by teachers to teach subjects such as Mathematics, Social Studies, etc.

PLEASE NOTE that the term mother tongue is used in this questionnaire. Because this questionnaire will be used in schools where the pupils (usually) speak Herero, Nama, Damara, Owambo languages and Tswana, the term mother tongue as used here DOES NOT REFER TO ENGLISH OR AFRIKAANS.

PLEASE REMEMBER ALWAYS TO GIVE YOUR OWN OPINION OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS. PLEASE ANSWER IN ALL CASES BY MAKING A CIRCLE AROUND THE NUMBER OR LETTER THAT YOU CHOOSE.

MAKE A CIRCLE AROUND A LETTER, e.g. (b) (ONLY ONE per question).

1. The following language/combination should ideally be used as medium of instruction in Sub A and Sub B (only ONE ANSWER, please):

- | | |
|--|-----|
| (a) the mother tongue | (1) |
| (b) Afrikaans | (2) |
| (c) English | (3) |
| (d) a combination of the mother tongue and Afrikaans | (4) |
| (e) a combination of the mother tongue and English | (5) |

-
2. The following language/combination should ideally be used as the medium of instruction in Std 2 to Std 4 (only ONE ANSWER, please):
- | | | |
|--|-----|----|
| (a) the mother tongue | (1) | |
| (b) Afrikaans | (2) | |
| (c) English | (3) | |
| (d) a combination of the mother tongue and Afrikaans | (4) | |
| (e) a combination of the mother tongue and English | (5) | 25 |
3. The following language/combination should ideally be used as the medium of instruction in Std 5 to Std 10 (only ONE ANSWER, please):
- | | | |
|--|-----|----|
| (a) the mother tongue | (1) | |
| (b) Afrikaans | (2) | |
| (c) English | (3) | |
| (d) a combination of the mother tongue and Afrikaans | (4) | |
| (e) a combination of the mother tongue and English | (5) | 27 |
4. The most suitable language/s to be used as medium of instruction to teach Mathematics in Std 3 is (only ONE ANSWER, please):
- | | | |
|--|-----|----|
| (a) the mother tongue | (1) | |
| (b) Afrikaans | (2) | |
| (c) English | (3) | |
| (d) a combination of the mother tongue and Afrikaans | (4) | |
| (e) a combination of the mother tongue and English | (5) | 29 |
5. The most suitable language/s to be used as medium of instruction to teach Biblical Studies in Std 3 is (only ONE ANSWER, please):
- | | | |
|--|-----|----|
| (a) the mother tongue | (1) | |
| (b) Afrikaans | (2) | |
| (c) English | (3) | |
| (d) a combination of the mother tongue and Afrikaans | (4) | |
| (e) a combination of the mother tongue and English | (5) | 31 |
6. The most suitable language to be used as medium of instruction to teach Health Education (Hygiene) in Std 3 is (only ONE ANSWER, please):
- | | | |
|--|-----|----|
| (a) the mother tongue | (1) | |
| (b) Afrikaans | (2) | |
| (c) English | (3) | |
| (d) a combination of the mother tongue and Afrikaans | (4) | |
| (e) a combination of the mother tongue and English | (5) | 33 |
-

IN ALL CASES HEREAFTER, THE NUMBERS MEAN THE FOLLOWING:

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 5 | I agree strongly |
| 4 | I agree |
| 3 | I neither agree nor disagree |
| | OR I don't know |
| 2 | I disagree |
| 1 | I disagree strongly |

-
7. Pupils will do better at school if the mother tongue is used as medium of instruction in Sub A.
(5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1) 35
8. Pupils will do better at school if the mother tongue is used as medium of instruction in Std 3.
(5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1) 37
9. There are enough printed materials (textbooks and other reading books) for the mother tongue to be used as medium of instruction in Standards 2 to 4.
(5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1) 39
10. Pupils will do better at school if the second language (English or Afrikaans) is brought in gradually as the medium of instruction, over a number of years.
(5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1) 41
11. Pupils will do better at school if the second language (English or Afrikaans) is used as the only medium of instruction from the beginning of Sub A.
(5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1) 43
12. Pupils will do better at school if they begin using the second language (English or Afrikaans) as medium of instruction only after they have passed a test to show that they are ready to do so.
(5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1) 45
13. In school subjects where the second language (English or Afrikaans) is used as the medium of instruction:
- 13.1 it is often necessary for the teacher to use the home language (mother tongue) to explain difficult ideas and problems.
(5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1) 47
- 13.2 the pupils should be allowed to answer tests and examinations through medium of their mother tongue.
(5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1) 49
- 13.3 the pupils should be allowed to answer the teacher's questions (orally) by speaking their mother tongue.
(5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1) 51
14. The mother tongue should be used as the medium of instruction in the junior primary school (especially Sub A and Sub B):
- 14.1 because children in the junior primary school learn best through medium of the mother tongue.
(5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1) 53

-
- | | | |
|------|--|----|
| 14.2 | because, if this is done, children are more active and creative in class. | 55 |
| | (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1) | |
| 14.3 | because, if this is done, it will be better for the development of the intelligence of the children. | 57 |
| | (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1) | |
-

This section is about READING. Please remember to give YOUR OWN OPINION about these statements.

- | | | |
|-----|---|----|
| 15. | The skill of reading is best developed if pupils <u>first</u> are taught to read in their <u>mother tongue</u> . | 59 |
| | (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1) | |
| 16. | The schools should have more reading materials (such as books and magazines) in <u>English</u> . | 61 |
| | (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1) | |
| 17. | Learning to read in the <u>mother tongue</u> is a waste of time for pupils, because there are not enough books to read. | 63 |
| | (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1) | |
| 18. | The schools should have more reading materials (such as books and magazines) in <u>Afrikaans</u> . | 65 |
| | (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1) | |
| 19. | It is not necessary for pupils <u>first</u> to learn to read in the mother tongue; instead, they can <u>first begin</u> to learn to read in the second language (Afrikaans or English). | 67 |
| | (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1) | |
-

This section has to do with the teaching of languages as SCHOOL SUBJECTS. For example, a pupil in Okakarara will probably have Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in Std 2, but will have English, Afrikaans and Herero as SCHOOL SUBJECTS.

Please remember to give your OWN OPINION of the following statements.

- | | | |
|-----|---|----|
| 20. | I enjoy teaching the <u>mother tongue</u> as a <u>school subject</u> . | 69 |
| | (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1) | |
| 21. | Pupils enjoy studying the <u>mother tongue</u> as a <u>school subject</u> . | 71 |
| | (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1) | |

22. The <u>mother tongue</u> should be taught as a <u>school subject</u> :	
22.1 in the <u>lower</u> primary school (Sub A to Std 1)	
(5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1)	73
22.2 in the <u>higher</u> primary school (Std 2 to Std 4)	
(5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1)	75
22.3 in the secondary school (Std 5 to Std 10)	
(5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1)	77
23. The <u>mother tongue</u> should be <u>one of</u> the languages <u>taught and used</u> in the schools:	
23.1 because people want their own language to be used in the schools	
(5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1)	79
23.2 because, if this is not done, people will lose respect for their own culture and traditions.	
(5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1)	81
23.3 because, if this is not done, children will not respect and obey their parents	
(5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1)	83

This section has to do with **COMMAND OF LANGUAGE**. By "command" is meant how well a person can speak, read, write and understand a language.

Please remember to give your **OWN OPINION** of the following statements.

24. My <u>own</u> command of my pupils' <u>mother tongue</u> (home language) is good.	
(5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1)	85
25. My own command of English is good.	
(5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1)	87
26. My own command of Afrikaans is good.	
(5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1)	89
27. Teachers who are already teaching in schools, should be able to attend in-service training courses:	
27.1 to improve their command of the own mother tongue	
(5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1)	91
27.2 to improve their command of Afrikaans	
(5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1)	93

27.3	to improve their command of English (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1)	95
27.4	to improve their command of another language used in Namibia (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1)	97

For the following four questions only, the numbers mean this:

- 5 Certainly very important
- 4 Important
- 3 Uncertain OR I don't know
- 2 Not important
- 1 Certainly not at all important

Please read through all four questions (28 - 31) BEFORE you give your answers. By doing this, you will be able to give a RANK ORDER of importance for the four language skills, if necessary. (The four skills are writing, listening with understanding, reading, and speaking.)

28.	To do well at school, pupils who use their <u>second language</u> (Afrikaans or English) as <u>medium of instruction</u> in Std 3, should be able to <u>WRITE</u> well in the second language. (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1)	99
29.	To do well at school, pupils who use their <u>second language</u> (Afrikaans or English) as <u>medium of instruction</u> in Std 3, should be able to <u>LISTEN</u> well with understanding in the second language. (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1)	101
30.	To do well at school, pupils who use their <u>second language</u> (Afrikaans or English) as <u>medium of instruction</u> in Std 3 should be able to <u>READ</u> well in the second language. (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1)	103
31.	To do well at school, pupils who use their <u>second language</u> (Afrikaans or English) as <u>medium of instruction</u> should be able to <u>SPEAK</u> well in their second language. (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1)	105

In this section you are asked to write your own answers to complete the following statements. (Write as much as you want to.)

32. It is important (as a teacher) that I should improve my own command of the following language(s). (Please give REASONS for your answers):

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

107

33. Major problems in teaching and using language(s) in my school are:

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

109

34. Many Namibian pupils drop out of school in the first three or four years because (of):

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

111

Thank you for completing this questionnaire, and for giving up your time to do so.

Yours sincerely

BRIAN HARLECH-JONES

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